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Palmerston

OPINIONS AND POLICY
OF THE
RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT PALMERSTON,

G. C. B., M. P., &c.



Yrs Faithfully
Palmerston



Dr. J. W. Smith
1850



Yr. faithfully

J. D. Martin

OPINIONS AND POLICY
OF
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
VISCOUNT PALMERSTON,

G.C.B., M.P., &c.

AS
MINISTER, DIPLOMATIST, AND STATESMAN,

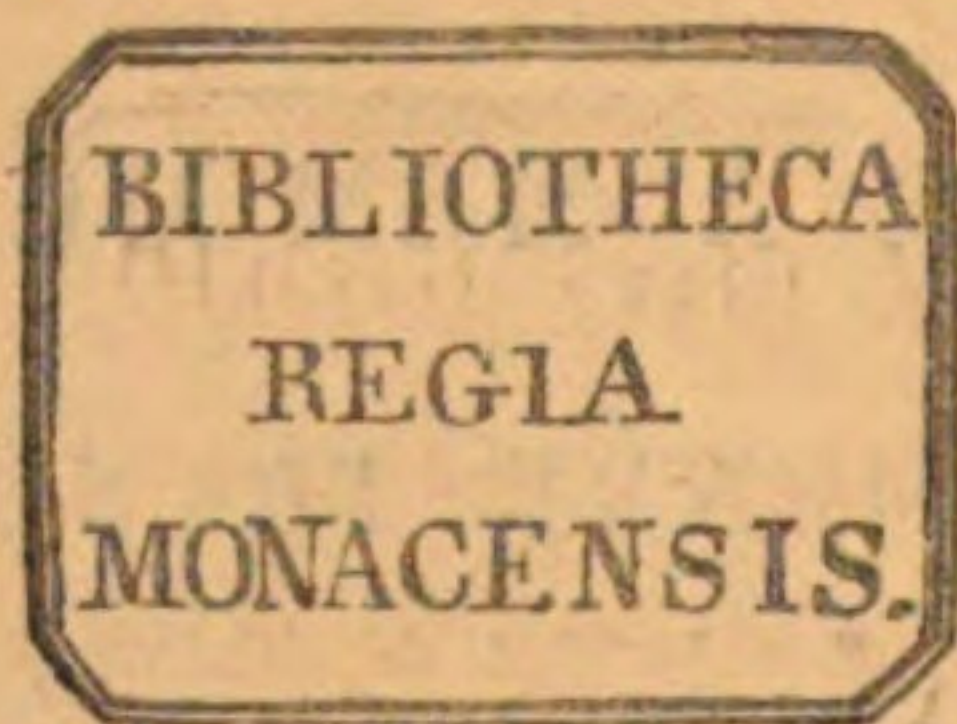
DURING MORE THAN FORTY YEARS OF PUBLIC LIFE.

WITH A MEMOIR
BY GEORGE HENRY FRANCIS, ESQ.,
EDITOR OF
"MAXIMS AND OPINIONS OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON," &c.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

It has been thought that a selection of the most important passages in Lord Palmerston's speeches, made with the most strict impartiality, would assist the public mind in forming a just opinion of his Lordship's character and career. The difficulty the Editor has had to encounter has arisen from the abundance of materials of the best quality, and the necessity of excluding so much that he would gladly have inserted.

The selections have been confined to authenticated speeches; and no speeches have been resorted to which bear on the face of them evidence of having been imperfectly reported. This rule will explain some intentional omissions, more especially in recent instances.

MEMORANDUM

FOR THE RECORD

DATE: JANUARY 1, 1917

The following information was received from the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, on January 1, 1917, regarding the population of the United States in 1916.

The total population of the United States in 1916 was 92,227,842, an increase of 1,100,000 over the population in 1915. The increase was due to a combination of factors, including a high birth rate and a low death rate.

The population of the United States in 1916 was distributed as follows:

Age Group	Population
Under 15	28,500,000
15 to 24	18,000,000
25 to 34	15,000,000
35 to 44	12,000,000
45 to 54	10,000,000
55 to 64	8,000,000
65 and over	6,727,842

The population of the United States in 1916 was also distributed by sex and race. The male population was 46,113,921 and the female population was 46,113,921. The white population was 80,000,000 and the colored population was 12,227,842.

The population of the United States in 1916 was also distributed by place of birth. The native born population was 70,000,000 and the foreign born population was 22,227,842.

The population of the United States in 1916 was also distributed by occupation. The agricultural population was 10,000,000, the manufacturing population was 15,000,000, and the service population was 67,227,842.

MEMOIR
OF
LORD PALMERSTON.

THE career of Lord Palmerston offers few salient points to a biographer. A member of every government that has ruled the destinies of this empire since 1807, with the single exception of that initiated in 1834, and resumed in 1841 by the late Sir Robert Peel, the life of the noble Viscount has unquestionably been one of great activity; but that activity has not been of the kind to furnish the ordinary materials of an interesting Memoir. It has been the activity of the mind and of the pen; not even of that ordinary ambition which in this country impels a public man to expend his energy and enterprise in party strategies and combinations. From his bureau in Downing Street, Lord Palmerston may have conducted negotiations, or have issued missives, which have changed the face of international politics, or have guided the destinies of nations; but such exertions are silent, and hidden from mankind

in general. Their results are rendered in a few brief lines, although their policy may remain open to endless discussion. In the few facts, therefore, which will here be put together for the guidance of the reader, there will be little of stirring interest. A brief view of Lord Palmerston's political associations, during more than five and forty years of public life, and a retrospect of the most remarkable measures of which he has been either the originator or the supporter, will make up the sum of this Memoir. The real history of Lord Palmerston, that is to say, the history of his mind, as developed in his policy, will be found narrated by himself, in the passages which fill the following pages.

Lord Palmerston, although of ancient English and Saxon lineage, derives his title from the peerage of Ireland. According to the peerage-books, his name and titles run thus: "Henry John Temple, third Viscount Palmerston of Palmerston, County of Dublin, and Baron Temple of Mount Temple, County of Sligo, in the peerage of Ireland." His own immediate family was not ennobled until the year 1722, but it is of common origin with the ducal House of Buckingham and Chandos. He also numbers among his ancestral connections the celebrated Sir William Temple. To complete the roll of his honours, we must add that he is G.C.B., and a Privy Councillor; and that in the year 1806, he graduated at the University of Cambridge, where he was of St. John's College.

Lord Palmerston was born on the 20th of October, 1784. His education was commenced at Harrow, continued at the University of Edinburgh, and finished at the University of Cambridge. He commenced public life at a very early age, exhibiting an ability, discretion, and general

mental development only to be attributed to a very superior natural organization.

In the early part of the year 1806, when the formation of the Grenville Administration obliged Lord Henry Petty, who had taken office as Chancellor of the Exchequer, to appeal to his constituents, Lord Palmerston, then little more than one and twenty years of age, contested with him the representation of the University of Cambridge. In this ambitious effort he did not then succeed; but he very soon afterwards entered Parliament for one of the boroughs which, under the old system, afforded a shelter to disappointed candidates, and which borough (Bletchingley) he continued to represent till he successfully contested Cambridge University.

In 1807, on the formation of the Duke of Portland's Administration, Lord Palmerston was elevated to the post of a Lord of the Admiralty. The highest expectations were formed as to his future career. Those who had passed a portion of their youth with him, were aware that under an unpretending manner there lay the sounder qualifications demanded in an Administrator of public affairs; nor was their favourable opinion falsified by the event. At an early stage of his parliamentary career, Lord Palmerston displayed ripeness of judgment.

On the 3rd of February, 1808, then at the age of twenty-four, he spoke briefly in opposition to Mr. Ponsonby's motion for the production of papers, to show the grounds on which the then Administration had advised His Majesty to employ his naval and military forces in the expedition against Copenhagen. Mr. Canning had made a brilliant speech in defence of the ministry, and

Lord Palmerston spoke shortly after him. The address is chiefly remarkable, as giving an early indication of those views with regard to the secrecy in which the action of diplomacy should be enveloped, which his Lordship has so recently enunciated during the course of the Kossuth demonstration in this country. He objected to the proposal made in 1808, on the specific ground that ministers were pledged to secrecy in that particular case, but generally he objected to making public the workings of diplomacy, because such disclosure would tend to shut up future sources of information. In defending the policy of the expedition, on the ground of the weakness of Denmark, and the power of France to force her to become instrumental against this country, his Lordship spoke well and cogently. Grappling with a point started by Mr. Wyndham in the course of the debate, as to an alleged violation of the law of nations by the operations in question, Lord Palmerston admitted his readiness to respect the law of nations; but confessed some difficulty in the application of the principle, owing to the confusion which sometimes existed in the minds of statesmen between the rights of nations and the policy which governed them. In the instance the House was then discussing, he expressed his joy that the law of nations had been interpreted in conformity with the law of nature, which dictated and commanded self-preservation. It was admitted, that if Denmark had given or shown any proof of hostility, directly or indirectly, against this country, ministers would have been justified in inflicting on her the heaviest punishment; but if the House considered that Denmark was weak and France powerful, and in posses-

sion of means to force her into confederacy against us, under such circumstances could a shadow of a doubt remain as to the object of the enemy being accomplished? When the conduct of France to other powers was considered, and the incapacity of Denmark to resist her, our success must be matter of exultation to every one who regarded the blessings of a free constitution. And then, alluding to the designs of Buonaparte, he asked the House whether it believed that that individual would, in the instance of Denmark, be restrained by a sense of justice and morality from perpetrating against her those aggressions and spoliations which had marked his character on the continent? Was it at the very moment that his triumphant legions were returning to France, that Denmark was to hope for an exemption from the calamities of war, if she refused to comply with the hostile intentions of France; or could it be thought that such a season was the most unfit for carrying into effect his rancorous designs against us? His Lordship clenched the argument by asserting that this country was justified in enforcing and securing a neutrality from Denmark which France would by force have converted into hostility. The remarks just quoted embody the main point in the first extract given in the following pages. They are interesting, as containing the germ of some of the views which Lord Palmerston subsequently carried out so perseveringly in his foreign policy.

In 1809, on the resignation of Lord Castlereagh of the office of Secretary at War, Lord Palmerston was appointed to that office. It was at a time of no ordinary danger to this country, when the minister at war was

required to possess qualifications beyond those of a mere official. Lord Palmerston's nomination to such a post at the age of six-and-twenty, therefore, and at a period when there was no dearth of able and experienced men, was alone the most convincing proof of the impression he had made on his cotemporaries. In the year 1807, he had again endeavoured to get himself elected for the Cambridge University on the elevation of Lord Henry Petty, now the Marquis of Lansdowne, to the peerage, but again without success. In February, 1810, he first moved the Army Estimates as Secretary at War, when he was warmly complimented by General Gascoigne, Mr. Huskisson, and others on the ability of his speech.

Lord Palmerston continued to fill the office of Secretary at War until the year 1828. He had commenced fulfilling its functions under Mr. Percival, and he continued to do so during the administrations of the Earl of Liverpool, Mr. Canning, Lord Goderich, and the Duke of Wellington. In the earlier years of the above period, he was not a frequent speaker in Parliament, confining himself chiefly to the business of his department, and only occasionally mixing in general discussions. He gave, however, a steady but discriminating support to the great question of Catholic Emancipation. Some of the earlier passages in the following pages will show that although so consistently a member of Tory administrations, he never gave occasion for the more ordinary imputations against the Tory party. Occasionally, but rarely, we find him engaged in a personal discussion. For instance, in the course of the debate on the second reading of the Seditious Meeting Prevention Bill, on the 2nd December, 1819, Lord Palmerston made a

spirited reply to an onslaught of Mr. Brougham, upon those persons officially connected with the Government, who had taken any share in getting up counter-requisitions against convening the public meetings which then frequently assembled. Having participated in such efforts, the noble Lord said, "he had yet to learn that because a man held an official situation, he was thereby disqualified from giving any opinion upon, or taking any part in, questions of public interest. He had pursued, and would pursue, without consulting the honourable and learned gentleman, or caring whether it met his applause or disapprobation, that line of conduct which appeared to him to be the most proper. He, and those who had acted with him on the occasion referred to (in signing a counter-requisition in Hampshire) had acted upon a well understood sense of duty, and in doing so had consulted the best interests of the country ; and he was sorry that others had not followed a similar course. If one person had a right to call on the sheriff of a county for a meeting, he could see no reason why another had not a right to sign a requisition against it. By the conduct of those who had signed the counter-requisition in Hampshire, that county had been saved from the disgrace of those unwarrantable and unconstitutional attacks that had been made on the Manchester magistrates."

Lord Palmerston was always identified in political feeling with Mr. Canning. Like that illustrious man, he was the steady, if not always an equally ardent, supporter of Catholic Emancipation ; like him, he was no friend to Parliamentary Reform ; like him, he was the encourager of freedom abroad. During the later years of Mr. Canning's

administration of foreign affairs, and from the death of that statesman till his own accession to the office of Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston spoke more frequently on questions connected with the foreign relations of the country, displaying a very intimate knowledge of his subject, and preparing the public mind to regard him as the most fit man to carry out those liberal views which had found so much favour when promulgated by Mr. Canning.

In 1822, it fell to Lord Palmerston, as Secretary at War, to answer Sir Robert Wilson on his motion respecting his dismissal from the army. The popular impression of the day was, that Sir Robert had been got rid of on account of political hostility towards the Government. This charge was indignantly rebutted by Lord Palmerston, who maintained that the dismissal had been the consequence of military indiscretion on the part of Sir Robert Wilson.

The good temper of Lord Palmerston is almost proverbial in the House of Commons. Considering what charges have been brought against him from time to time, and how irritating it must be to a public man to see his motives and policy misrepresented at times when he is precluded from explanation, it is remarkable how rarely Lord Palmerston has ever become involved in personal disputes. The only one we can find recorded scarcely detracts from his reputation for good temper. Any frequenter of the House of Commons is aware that however respectable Mr. Hume may be on the score of his character and motives, his singular infelicity of expression, and obstinate tenacity of even mistaken views, render the task of opposing him frequently a trying one. In former years, this was worse than even now. A case occurred in 1826. Lord Palmer-

ston had over and over again stated the causes of the dismissal of Colonel Bradley from the army—a statement which Mr. Hume could not understand. The noble Lord at last so far forgot his habitual courtesy as to say that, “it was impossible for him to be answerable for the obtuseness of the honourable gentleman’s understanding,” As Mr. Hume was not then in high favour the laugh was against him; but two months after, he returned to the charge. Colonel Bradley’s case again on, and Mr. Hume nettled at having been so taunted by Lord Palmerston, said something inaudible in the gallery, but which induced Lord Palmerston to ask whether the remark applied to him? Mr. Hume replied that what he meant to say was, that assertions having been made in the House, not founded in fact, he would rather rely on authenticated documents than on such assertions. Lord Palmerston again pushed his question, and Mr. Hume further embroiled himself by saying that Lord Palmerston could not expect any courtesy from him, after having on that occasion “so notedly declined acting as a gentleman.” The Speaker here interrupted, and put a Pickwickian construction on the affair, which ended after a flourish of good motives on the part of Mr. Hume. The truth was, that the idea of a quarrel *à l’outrance* at that day with Mr. Hume would have been avoided as a matter of tactics, even if Lord Palmerston’s customary good nature had not rendered such a contingency impossible, except under very extraordinary circumstances of provocation.

On the appointment of Mr. Canning as First Minister, when so many of the Tory lords and gentlemen resigned *en masse*, Lord Palmerston was one of those who adhered

to him, retaining his post as Secretary at War. On the death of that Minister, Lord Palmerston continued in office under his immediate successor, Lord Goderich, and subsequently under the Duke of Wellington. The noble Lord's motives for so doing will be found detailed in the following pages, in a passage selected from a speech made at the time; as also the causes of his resignation in the May following, when the rupture took place between Mr. Huskisson and the Duke of Wellington, which led to the secession of the former. In the previous month of February, Lord Palmerston had seemingly belied his liberal feelings on religious freedom by voting and speaking against Lord John Russell's motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; but when his reasons came to be examined, it is found that he did so because he declined to emancipate the Dissenters while the Catholics remained under civil disabilities. Among the speakers in support of the Catholic Relief Act, Lord Palmerston was one of the most eloquent.

In the month of June 1829, Lord Palmerston delivered a powerful speech on the then state of our foreign relations—a speech which may be said to have determined his future career, because, taken in connection with his known zeal for the liberal principles maintained by Mr. Canning, the intimate knowledge of foreign affairs he then displayed, indicated the noble Lord as the most fit man to manage the business of the Foreign Office, should a change of Ministers lead to a still further development of the deceased statesman's foreign policy.

On March the 11th, 1830, Lord Palmerston made another brilliant and powerful speech—on the affairs of

Portugal, in the course of which he explained his views as to the foreign policy of the country, and the necessity for an exhibition of some sympathy by England on behalf of struggling nations on the continent. The motion with which the speech concluded was lost by one hundred and fifty to seventy-three votes ; but the time was nevertheless near at hand when the noble Lord was destined to be placed in the position where he could attempt to put his principles in force.

This opportunity came with the downfall of the Wellington Administration, and the accession of the Whigs to power. Lord Palmerston was then made Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. From that date until his retirement from office in December 1851, Lord Palmerston has followed the fortunes, and supported the policy of the Whig party ; devoting himself more especially to his own department, but on all necessary occasions lending his powerful aid in debate on behalf of measures of general domestic legislation. The only point on which he had hitherto been seriously at issue with his new allies, was the question of Parliamentary Reform ; but he now adopted to the full their policy on that subject ; so much so, that having been taunted, as a disciple of Canning, with his support of a measure which that statesman had so strongly opposed, he expressed his conviction that the largeness of Mr. Canning's mind would have been equal to the emergency, and quoted the celebrated passage from one of his speeches, in which he said that " they who resist improvement because it is innovation, may find themselves compelled to accept innovation when it has ceased to be improvement." The enunciation of these sentiments,

and the general course of his foreign policy for some years after, identified him thoroughly with the Whig party, of whose measures he was a steady and consistent supporter, as a member of the Cabinet, and as their most effective debater in Parliament, until the close of the last session. His junction with the Whigs in 1830 led to his rejection by the University of Cambridge as its representative, a position which he had occupied since the year 1811. In 1831 he was elected for South Hants. In December 1834, when Sir Robert Peel was temporarily Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston lost his election for the county. He was elected for Tiverton in the June following; and he has since continued to represent that borough. In 1841 he was put up for Liverpool, but he took no active part in the contest.

For the foreign policy of this country, from the accession of Earl Grey in 1830 to that of Sir Robert Peel in 1841 (with the exception of the brief interval between November 1834 and April 1835), and again from June 1846 to December 1851, Lord Palmerston is mainly, if not entirely responsible. As this work is intended to be useful to those opposed as to those who are favourable to Lord Palmerston, it would be inexpedient here to offer opinions as to that foreign policy; and its main incidents are so fresh in the memory of the public, that details on the subject would be tedious. The germinating principles of Lord Palmerston's measures and policy is to be found in those of Mr. Canning, whom the noble Viscount is proud to acknowledge as his master. But to Lord Palmerston is due the merit of having applied those principles under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty,

and according to the dictates of a practical mind. His first efforts, on his accession to office as Foreign Secretary, were directed towards establishing a permanent alliance with France against the absolutist powers of Europe. The establishment of Belgium as an independent State, with free institutions, guaranteed by the great powers of Europe, was also one of his earliest achievements. Spain and Portugal being still in a convulsed state in consequence of disputed successions and conflicting political principles, Lord Palmerston, desirous of supporting the Sovereigns who had been already acknowledged, or at least the *de facto* occupants of the thrones of those two countries, concluded, with the aid of France, what was called the quadruple alliance, the object of which was to sustain those Sovereigns, and, in effect, to establish liberal and constitutional principles along the western seaboard of Europe, as a counterpoise to the influence of the despotic powers.

The pursuit of these objects involved Lord Palmerston in many difficulties, arising chiefly from a confidence, which turned out to be misplaced, in the sincerity and integrity of the persons and political parties on whose behalf his efforts were made. Another difficulty of Lord Palmerston arose out of the threatened rupture of the then new French alliance. Territorial interests interfered with the general wishes of the French Government as to constitutional freedom. The immediate question related to the maintenance of the integrity of the Turkish empire, assailed by the ambition of Mehemet Ali. On this question, all the powers, except France, were of one opinion.

France held back from motives of personal interest; until, at last, the other powers could delay no longer, and they signed a separate convention, which resulted in the well-known operations of our troops on the coast of Syria, and the ultimate settlement of the Egyptian question on its present basis. M. Thiers, at that time Prime Minister of France, used the indignation of the French, ill-informed at all times on foreign politics, as a lever of his ambition, seeking to stir up a war between France and England. The dispute raged furiously for some time, until, at last, the angry passions on either side were assuaged, and the old good understanding was resumed.

Between 1841 and 1846, Lord Palmerston was in opposition. In December, 1845, the door of office was open to the Whigs; but Earl Grey was said to have expressed so decided a hostility to Lord Palmerston on the score of a part of his conduct while in opposition, that no arrangement could be effected. When the noble Viscount returned to office, on the resignation of Sir Robert Peel's Ministry, he resumed, with his usual ardour and activity, his functions as Foreign Secretary; and during the period intervening between that date and December, 1851, he consistently followed up the general principles he had previously embodied in his foreign policy. We need do no more than mention the subjects he handled: the troubles in Portugal; the Swiss question; the revolutionary movements in 1848; the Spanish question in 1849; the Greek question, commenced as early as 1847 and brought to a sudden close by reprisals in 1850; and, finally, the Hungarian war, the negotiations for the pro-

tection of the fugitive Hungarian chiefs, and the circumstances attending the arrival of Kossuth in England. Upon all these subjects, copious explanations will be found in passages extracted from such speeches of the noble Lord as can be considered to be trustworthy, and from authorized sources. During the last three or four years of his political life, Lord Palmerston had been the object of a systematic and organized opposition on the part of statesmen and journalists, who disapproved of his policy, and more especially of the manner in which that policy was explained and enforced with foreign Governments. Passing over the attacks of Messrs. Urquhart and Anstey, in 1848, we may remind the reader of the more recent and more formidable combination of the opponents of Lord Palmerston's policy, in 1850; which brought down an adverse vote of the House of Lords, and caused a protracted debate in the House of Commons, turning on the the Greek question, and resulting in a majority for Lord Palmerston of 46. The speech made by the noble Viscount on that occasion, although it has afforded us few materials for extract, was a remarkable achievement, one almost unrivalled for sustentation, variety, and argumentative power.

The limitations imposed on us by the neutral character of this volume forbid our entering into any criticism of these events, or any examination of the merits or demerits of Lord Palmerston's policy. He had received, in a marked manner, the support of Lord John Russell in the course of the debate last alluded to; out of doors, he was greeted with manifestations of approval and support,

among others, with the presentation of his portrait to Lady Palmerston, by one hundred members of the House of Commons, and deputations from different public bodies. The world in general supposed that his immediate difficulties were at all events postponed, when immediately before the close of the last year, his Lordship's retirement from the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs was announced.

Although abstaining from comment on Lord Palmerston's policy, we are under no such restraint as to his abilities. In this respect we might almost content ourselves with referring the reader to the passages in the following pages as containing stronger testimony than need be given by any eulogy. It is the lot of many public men to stand very high in the opinion of their own immediate parliamentary and political contemporaries, while utterly undervalued by the public at large, who are too prone to judge of men, not as they are, but as they adapt themselves to popular sympathies. Lord Palmerston, during the earlier half of his life, was on the popular side on several questions; but, and more especially on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade, he was eclipsed by more noisy declaimers. Lord Palmerston, too, had passed the first twenty years of his life in association with a party against which popular prejudices had been violently excited; and it was not until his junction with the Whigs and his advocacy of reform, that the general multitude could be brought to admit his talents. In his position as Foreign Minister, he was exposed continually to assaults, without being always free to say all he could wish in his own

defence; and he found himself obliged, in obedience to the etiquette of diplomacy, to seem to sanction many proceedings which rendered him odious to a large portion of ardent thinkers on foreign affairs. Still, upon the whole, Lord Palmerston cannot be regarded otherwise than as a popular minister; and he has perhaps a larger "following" both in and out of Parliament than any other public man of the day.

The following passage from a sketch of Lord Palmerston, written some four or five years since, gives a sufficiently accurate view of some popular errors as to his character, and at the same time an estimate of some of his most sterling and popular qualities.

"The 'sexagenarian juvenility' of Lord Palmerston has been the subject of much good-humoured raillery. The public are already sufficiently familiar with the somewhat stale jokes which the newspapers for some years applied to the noble Lord, because they have chosen to assume that he, more than most men, sacrifices to the Graces. Lord Palmerston is too respectable, both in talents and character, to be affected by such harmless nonsense; more especially as it is, in point of fact, founded on error. Nor should we here so particularly refer to the subject, but that if not in his outward man, at least in his mind, the noble Lord certainly does reverse some of the usual laws of Nature. Although from early youth he has been, in some capacity or other, before the public, and during the greater part of the time in the service of the State, it is only of late years that he has "come out," either as a statesman or an orator. Perhaps

this may have arisen from constitutional indolence ; yet the restless activity of his subsequent ministerial career almost forbids the assumption. It may have been because he did not desire to thrust himself prominently before the public while he still occupied a position in the senate, or filled situations in the Government, comparatively subordinate ; but a reference to "Hansard" will show that at no time was the noble Lord deficient in a characteristic propensity for self-display. Like the blossoming of the aloe, the Parliamentary fruition of his genius, though long delayed, is marvellous. Few, indeed, are the men who, after passing through a youth and manhood of seeming indifference, could, long after the middle age has passed, after the fire of life might be supposed to be almost exhausted, blaze out, like the sacred flame on the altar of the fire-worshipper, at the very moment of decay. In this respect, as in many others, Lord Palmerston is a puzzle. He has begun where most men end. Long passed over and forgotten by Fame, he suddenly recalls her, and arrests her in her flight, compelling her to trumpet forth his name. Not even recognized as a statesman, but classed among the Red Tapists ; as a speaker confounded by the vulgar with the steady-paced humdrums ; he was almost the very last man in the House of Commons on whom one would have fixed as being likely ever to rival Lord John Russell in the leadership of the Whig party. Suddenly, without apparent cause, without its being discovered that he had become possessed of the elixir of life, he astonished his contemporaries by the display of a vigour which neither his youth nor middle-age had shown : he entered the lists alike with the

veterans and the young ardent spirits of the House of Commons, proving himself a very master of the art which he had thus with so tardy a haste essayed, and raising himself to a level with the very best speakers, nay, even ultimately rivalling Lord Lyndhurst himself in the ability and power with which he used the ordinary weapons of party for the annoyance of his foes. Like the sleeping prince in the fairy tale, although by the influence of the spell half an age had passed over his bodily frame, the fire and energy of his early days remained. The heat, the vigour, even the rashness of youth, were in him most strangely combined with the authority and experience of more advanced years. The hero of Godwin's romance did not more secretly or more instantaneously discard the crust of time. It is told of Mathews, that one of his most pleasing pastimes was suddenly, chance-wise, to mingle with any group of boys, asking to join in their play; when he would, by the force of his rare genius for imitation, throw himself completely into the childish character, romp with them, laugh with them, cheat with them, quarrel with them; till, although they could not at first quite fraternize with the very tall stranger, they gradually began to look on him as less unlike themselves, and at last admitted him to the full rights of companionship. Similar, one may suppose, were the feelings of the leading men of the House of Commons, when Lord Palmerston, after having wilfully hid his powers so long, burst out upon them as a first-rate speaker. It took them some time to believe it possible; but gradually their incredulity gave way under the proofs of his ability and vigour; and they now acknowledge to the

utmost of their admiration the mistake which they, in common with the noble Lord himself, had made during so many years. Like some diseases, Lord Palmerston's oratorical and political talent was chronic; it required time for its development.

All things taken into account, Lord Palmerston is, perhaps, the best debater among the Whig leaders of the House of Commons. In the different qualities which, when combined, go to render a man an orator, he is excelled by many individuals among his contemporaries. Lord John Russell shows more tact, more intimate acquaintance with party history (not with parties, for, in that knowledge, Lord Palmerston beats all men living, having been member of almost every government within the memory of man), greater skill in pointing allusions to the political errors of opponents, and altogether more refinement in the management of his Parliamentary case. In eloquence, both of conception or in delivery, Lord Palmerston is, of course, excelled by Mr. Sheil or Mr. Macaulay, and even by men holding a far inferior rank as speakers. In soundness and vigour of argument he cannot stand a moment's comparison with Mr. Cobden or with Earl Grey (when that nobleman does justice to his own powers), or even with Mr. Charles Buller. Each speaker on his own side, in fact, is in advance of him in some particular quality of the orator. Yet no one would for a moment hesitate to place Lord Palmerston amongst the first speakers in the House of Commons, or would deny that he had derived from hearing one of that nobleman's speeches as much pleasure, of its kind, as if he had listened to the most brilliant efforts of Macaulay, the most spirit-stirring of

Sheil, or the most skilful and satisfying of Lord John Russell."

In the same sketch, the writer adds, that even those who disapproved of much of his conduct, "are willing to admit, that as the foreign minister of England, he has shown himself animated by something of the spirit of the great Earl of Chatham, in his magnanimous determination to uphold at all hazards the national honour. In his first administration of the Foreign Office, his task was to make a peace-at-any-price party pursue a war-at-any-price policy. It was his duty, as well as his ardent desire, to make the English name respected throughout the world. He took a high tone with foreign nations; and they felt that, while Lord Palmerston was at the head of our foreign affairs, they could not insult us with impunity."

Except that Lord Palmerston's powers as an orator, and his protestations of peaceful tendencies are scarcely done justice to, the foregoing remarks fairly enough represent cotemporary opinions. As to the calibre of his Lordship's mind, and the soundness of his views, the reader will be best able to judge for himself after reading the following pages.



OPINIONS AND POLICY
OF
LORD PALMERSTON.

*The Expedition to Copenhagen.**

I OBJECT, Sir, to the motion of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Ponsonby), because in this particular case, His Majesty's Ministers are pledged to secrecy; but I also object generally to making public the working of diplomacy, because it is the tendency of disclosures in that department to shut up future sources of information. With respect to the present expedition, it is defensible on the ground that the enormous power of France enables her to coerce the weaker state to become an enemy of England. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) has urged that we have been guilty of a violation of the law of nations. Sir, no man could be more ready than I to respect the law of nations; but the question in this

* Lord Palmerston was at this time twenty-four years of age.

case is how to apply the admitted principle, that the law of nations is sacred. It is one thing to admit the rights of nations, another to succumb to the policy which may for the time being govern them. A nation coerced by a superior power loses that independence which is the plea for its rights, and the guarantee of their maintenance by mankind.

In the case now before the house, the law of nature is stronger than even the law of nations. It is to the law of self-preservation that England appeals for the justification of her proceedings. It is admitted by the honourable gentleman and his supporters, that if Denmark had evidenced any hostility towards this country, then we should have been justified in measures of retaliation. How then is the case altered, when we find Denmark acting under the coercion of a power notoriously hostile to us? Knowing, as we do, that Denmark is under the influence of France, can there be the shadow of a doubt that the object of our enemy would have been accomplished? Denmark coerced into hostility stands in the same position as Denmark voluntarily hostile, when the law of self-preservation comes into play. We must remember what has been the conduct of France towards other countries; and, if we would preserve the blessings of a free constitution, we must not judge this question by a barren and abstract rule of justice, but by those larger and more free principles which regulate the conduct of nations in great emergencies.

Does any one believe that Buonaparte will be restrained by any considerations of justice from acting towards Denmark as he has done towards other coun-

tries? Is it at the very moment when his legions are returning triumphant to France, that Denmark can hope for an exemption from the calamities of war if she refuses to comply with the hostile intentions of France? or, can it be doubted that this would be the season when he would more especially seek to carry out his gigantic designs against us? England, according to that law of self-preservation which is a fundamental principle of the law of nations, is justified in securing, and therefore enforcing, from Denmark a neutrality which France would by compulsion have converted into an active hostility.

Mr. Ponsonby's motion on the Expedition to Copenhagen. February, 3, 1808.

Military aspect of England in 1810.

Our military force at this moment is as efficient in discipline as it is in numbers; and this not only in the regular army, but in the militia, volunteers, and other descriptions of force. We have six hundred thousand men in arms, besides a navy of two hundred thousand. The masculine energies of the nation were never more conspicuous, and the country never at any period of its history stood in so proud and glorious a position, as at present. After a conflict for fifteen years, against an enemy whose power has been progressively increasing, we are still able to maintain the war with augmenting force and a population, by the pressure of external circumstances, consolidated into an impregnable military mass. Our physical strength has risen when it has

been called for ; and if we do not present the opposition of numerous fortresses to the invader as the continent does, we present the more insuperable barrier of a high-spirited, patriotic and enthusiastic people.

Debate on the Army Estimates. February 26, 1810.

Distinction in Military Rewards.

There is a material difference to be observed between the pay of the soldier and the pay of the officer ; that of the soldier is intended to supply him with the necessaries of life ; but that of the officer is more in the nature of an honourable reward for his services, the value of which he will appreciate, not so much by the sum it contributes as by the principle upon which it is granted.

Debate on Pay and Allowances to the Army. September 4, 1811.

Importance of the British and Irish Militia Interchange Bill.

I think, Sir, the motion for the second reading of this bill the most important that has been made since the Union, and I cannot but think the Union will be incomplete until it is adopted. The security it will afford against invasion is one great object ; but that is second in importance to another consideration. There are immense advantages likely to result from its uniting all classes of England and Ireland.

Debate on British and Irish Militia Interchange Bill.
May 23, 1811.

*No danger to be apprehended from employing Foreigners
in our Army.*

A foreign sovereign (William III) was then on the throne, and the people were not, as they now are, generally familiarized to the use of arms, the whole standing army being then not above twenty thousand men. There then existed no war like the present, in which we see Buonaparte sending Spaniards into the North, Germans into Spain, and Poles to preserve the tranquillity of Italy. Is there then, any serious ground for apprehension for the liberties of the country, when we know that the number of foreigners in our service is limited by law to the number of sixteen thousand, and that of those the far larger proportion are employed abroad?

Motion with respect to Foreigners in the British Army.
March 10, 1812.

Ibid.

Those who consider the circumstances of the times, as well as the constitution of the country, will not, I think, object to the present employment of foreigners. If any man will look at the map of Europe, and see what a portion of its population the enemy has forced into hostility to this country; if he also considers the limited population of these two islands, and the extensive colonies we have to defend, and the navy we have to support,—I

think it is hardly possible that such a man can now adhere to the idea of not employing foreigners in our service.

Lord Folkestone's motion respecting the King's German Legion. December 10, 1812.

The House of Commons, and not the people at large, ought to decide on Public Questions.

I should be the last man in the House to say that the opinions of constituents, expressed in such petitions (petitions against the Roman Catholic claims) are not entitled to the greatest deference and respect; but the form of the Constitution is representative, and by it the duty and responsibility of deliberation and decision rests with the House, and not with the people at large; and honourable members will ill perform their duty to those who send them here, if, when they have upon full and mature consideration made up their minds upon a great and important question like the present, they hesitate to act upon their honest conviction, even though they should unfortunately differ in opinion with those whom they represent in the House.

Mr. Grattan's motion for a Committee on the Claims of the Roman Catholics. March 1, 1813.

Catholic Emancipation to be conceded, not granted as a right.

Although I wish the Catholic claims to be considered, I never will admit those claims to stand upon the ground

of right. To maintain that the legislature of a country has not the right to impose such political disabilities upon any class of the community, as it may deem necessary for the safety and welfare of the whole, would be to strike at once at the fundamental principles on which a civilized government is founded. If I thought the Catholics were asking for their rights, I, for one, would not go into the committee. What! would it be becoming for the British Parliament to say to the Catholics, we allow that what you ask of us are only your just and natural rights, but we will not freely and liberally grant them; we will go into a committee to barter with you for the concession of these admitted rights, to see under what conditions, with what modifications, and subject to what restrictions these rights can be sanctioned by us? Such conduct would at once be inconsistent and unjust.

Ibid.

*The Imposition of Disabilities to be regarded only
as a matter of Political expediency.*

Putting this question, however, entirely on the ground of expediency, I cannot concur with those who think that they have proved the expediency of continuing the Catholic Disabilities now, by showing that they were necessary in the times when they were originally imposed. These Disabilities are not the rule of the Constitution, but an exception from that rule; their necessity in one century is no evidence of their expediency in another; and it is as much incumbent on those who now contend for their continuance, to show that they are required for the pre-

sent security of the state, as it was upon those who first framed them to prove the necessity of their original enactment.

Mr. Grattan's motion, March 1, 1813.

No danger to Protestantism to be apprehended from the admission of Catholics to Parliament.

The great stand has been made upon the admission of Catholics into the two Houses of Parliament; and the danger apprehended is that they will influence the decision of the two houses in some vote which might, directly, or indirectly affect the Protestant establishments of the Empire. Now, how does this stand? In the House of Lords, their numbers must of necessity be too small to have any effect upon the decisions of that body. In the House of Commons, the numbers would undoubtedly be greater, but would still bear so very small a proportion to the whole, as to render it absolutely impossible for them to carry any such point by themselves. Now, I beg to say that I am inclined to think, that Catholics coming into this House would, much in the same way that Protestants do, range themselves under the banners of the different political parties which might exist within its walls, according as they might be influenced by considerations of personal connection or political feelings; but supposing, for the sake of argument, that they move in one compact mass, directing all their efforts to the attainment of this particular object; by themselves they would be powerless; they must then bargain with some great Protestant party, and barter their aid in the contest for the concession of their object, when the victory should be gained. Now I

know well that in a popular constitution like ours, when conflicting parties are nearly balanced, when all the passions of the mind are roused, and the prize to be fought for is nothing less than the direction of the affairs of a great and mighty empire, men may be led to make large sacrifices at the shrine of political ambition. The history of the country, unfortunately, is not without such examples. But whatever may be the error of individuals, I never can bring myself to believe that there would at any time be found in this House a sufficiently powerful and numerous Protestant party, so profligate in principle, and so dead to everything which would be due to themselves and to their country, as to barter away the religious establishment of any part of the Empire, for the gratification of political ambition. But supposing, again, this combination of improbabilities to occur, and such a vote to be extorted from this House. I trust that there would still be found, in the other House of Parliament, and above all in the indignant feeling of a betrayed people, barriers amply sufficient to protect the Protestant establishments of the empire from profanation by such sacrilegious hands.

Ibid.

The practical evils of Exclusion.

Is it wise to say to any set of men that they may enter, it is true, the army and navy, but whatever may be the talents and bravery they may display, however brilliant the achievements they may perform, they must remain in the inferior ranks of the service? Can we hope from such men the full stretch of exertion to which,

by proper incentives, they might be led? Is it wise, again, to admit men to the profession of the law, and forbid them to aspire to its honours? Might not the knowledge and habits of business so acquired sometimes be perverted to mischievous purposes? Might not the activity or ambition which is cherished in one direction, break out in another? If men feel that they cannot hope to rise to professional honours, may they not be tempted to gratify their love of distinction by becoming the leaders of a faction? I do not say that such things would, but undoubtedly they might be. Is it wise to say to men of rank and property, who, from old lineage or present possessions, have a deep interest in the common weal, that they live, indeed, in a country where by the blessings of a free constitution it is possible for any man, themselves only excepted, by the honest exertions of talents and industry in the avocations of political life to make himself honoured and respected by his countrymen, and to render good service to the state; but they alone can never be permitted to enter this career? That they may, indeed, usefully employ themselves in the humbler avocations of private life, but that public service they never can perform, public honour they never shall attain? What we have lost by a continuance of this system it is impossible for man to know; what we may have lost can more easily be imagined. If it had unfortunately happened that by the circumstances of birth and education, a Nelson, a Wellington, a Burke, a Fox, or a Pitt, had belonged to this class of the community, of what honour and of what glory might not the page of British history have been deprived! To what perils and calamities might not this

country have been exposed ! The question is not whether we would have so large a portion of the population Catholic, or not. There they are, and we must deal with them as we can. It is in vain to think that by any human pressure we can stop the spring which gushes from the earth. But it is for us to consider whether we will force it to spend its strength in secret and hidden courses, undermining our fences and corrupting our soil, or whether we shall, at once, turn the current into the open and spacious channel of honourable and constitutional ambition, converting it into the means of national prosperity and public wealth.

Mr. Grattan's motion, March 1, 1813.

Voluntary Enlistment in the Army better than Conscription.

If our armies are not so numerous as those of other nations, they have qualities which render them more valuable. Those raised by voluntary enlistment are more effective than those raised by conscription ; and I should think a general would feel much more confidence in an army raised as our armies are raised, than he could possibly have while leading to battle a band of slaves torn from their homes by force.

Debate on Army Extraordinaries. June 23, 1813.

The best guarantee for Peace is the ability to repel Attack.

I will venture to lay it down as a general principle, that there are no better means for securing the continuance of

peace, than to have it known that the possessions in the neighbourhood of a foreign state are in a condition to repel attack. I am firmly persuaded that among nations, weakness will never be a foundation for security.

Debate on the Army Estimates. February 26, 1816.

The Evils of a Standing Army.

I am far from wishing to treat lightly or inconsiderately the evils attendant upon a standing army. The history of those countries where standing armies have been allowed to usurp an ascendancy over the civil authorities, is a volume pregnant with instruction to every one. We may look at France, for instance, and derive a lesson of eternal importance. But when it is said, that in ancient Rome twelve thousand prætorian bands were potent enough to dispose of that empire according to their will and pleasure, it should be remembered that that was the result of a number of pre-disposing causes, which have no existence in England. Before the civil constitution of any country can be overturned by a standing army, the people of that country must be lamentably degenerate; they must be debased and enervated by all the worst excesses of an arbitrary and despotic government; their martial spirit must be extinguished; they must be brought to a state of political degradation, I may almost say of political emasculation, such as few countries experience that have once known the blessings of liberty.

Debate on the Army Estimates. March 8, 1816.

The Present compared with the Past Epoch of English Freedom.

I trust that, whatever differences of opinion may be entertained in the House about abstract questions of foreign or domestic policy, it will at least be allowed by all parties, that we enjoy the practical blessings of freedom in a greater degree than has ever been done by any other country; and I will presume to say, in a greater degree than even this country has ever enjoyed them at any former period. I was not a little surprised to hear the reign of Queen Elizabeth referred to by honourable gentlemen opposite, as a period from which we were to deduce our constitutional practices; to hear the Whigs talk with exultation of those times when there were no standing armies. In my opinion, when a Sovereign exercised such power as to send members of this House to prison, and advise them not to meddle with state affairs, it is of little importance whether they had a standing army or not.

Ibid.

The general interests of the Army bound up with the Constitution.

I am satisfied that in the very constitution of our army, even, there is a sufficient protection for the Constitution, and a sufficient check against its being abased as a body. A large proportion of the officers who command in it are identified by their property, their connections, and general interests, with the civil prosperity of the state;

and I am sure, if it were possible for one half of the army to decide against the Constitution, the other half would stand up for it.

Ibid.

Financial Embarrassment, a result of a low Peace Establishment.

It has been said that that which has made England a great and an energetic nation, is the principle heretofore acted upon of maintaining a very low Peace establishment, while the Peace establishments of the continent have been uniformly high. I do not agree in that view of the subject. For my own part, I believe much of our financial embarrassment to have been caused by our former low Peace establishments, and to this circumstance the failure of many of our military operations may be traced.

Lord George Cavendish's motion for a reduction of the Public Expenditure. April 25, 1816.

A Free Constitution the parent of England's prosperity.

It is to the liberty which we enjoy that the industry and exertion which happily distinguish England from many of the continental powers is to be ascribed; and to these advantages, which a free people only can possess, we owe all our superiority, which will not be affected by the largeness or smallness of our Peace establishments.

Ibid.

Our National Burdens, the price of our Freedom and Independence.

No doubt the honourable member (Colonel Davies) expects that if this committee (on military expenditure) were granted, he would be able to detect many a venerable abuse, and at every turn of the spade to bring up some mutilated remains of violated economy ; but even if the House were to accede to his motion, he would find himself anticipated ; the ground is already dug, and nothing remains to reward the honourable gentleman's industry. The honourable gentleman has alluded to the distresses and financial embarrassments of the country. I should be the last man to speak of those distresses in a slighting manner ; but in considering the amount of our burdens, we ought not to forget under what circumstances those difficulties have been incurred. Engaged in an arduous struggle, single-handed and unaided, not only against all the powers of Europe, but with the confederated forces of the civilized world, our object was not merely military glory—not the temptation of territorial acquisition—not even what might be considered a more justifiable object, the assertion of violated rights and the vindication of national honour ; but we were contending for our very existence as an independent nation. When the political horizon was thus clouded, when no human foresight could point out from what quarter relief was to be expected, when the utmost effort of national energy was not to despair, I would put it to the honourable gentleman whether, if at that period it could have been shown

that Europe might be delivered from its thralldom, but that this contingent must be purchased at the price of a long and patient endurance of our domestic burdens, we should not have accepted the conditions with gratitude? I lament as deeply as the honourable gentleman the burdens of the country; but it should be recollected that they were the price which we agreed to pay for our freedom and independence.

Colonel Davies' motion on the Military Expenditure of the Country. May 16, 1820.

Constitutionalism the essence of Government in this country.

If there be any man who can really bring himself to think that ministers are so senseless, so utterly lost to thought, as to endeavour to establish a military Government in this country—if any man can suppose that they meditate the overthrow of that constitution by which, and under which, we govern; if any man can be found to entertain such an opinion of his political opponents, I, from my heart, feel nothing but pity for the political bigotry which must influence that individual. No man can mix much in public life in this country; no man who has the slightest opportunity of witnessing daily and hourly, in private life, the blessings derived from the constitution under which we live, can entertain any other feeling but the determination, if necessary, to sacrifice his life in its defence. If a man possessing these opportunities can bring himself to believe that his political opponents harbour a base inten-

tion to overturn the Constitution, I can perceive very little difference between such an individual and those men who can really entertain such a determination. The noble lord (Nugent) says, he has watched with jealousy the strides towards a military despotism that have been made of late years. I will say, that if there are any set of men who could drive a government to a military despotism it is those self-called, but misled reformers, who demand that sort of reform in the country, which, according to every just principle of government, must end, if it were acceded to, in a military despotism.

Debate on the Mutiny Bill. June 14, 1820.

The Army and its Controllers.

The honourable baronet (Sir F. Burdett), is in the habit of giving the House the result of his private studies; but he has omitted, in his quotations from Blackstone, the paragraph which identified the standing army with the British Constitution. However dangerous may be the existence of a standing army, it would be infinitely more dangerous to have no army at all. If the army is not to be erected to a fourth estate, it must be placed under some species of control. The honourable baronet objects to that control being vested in the crown. Is Parliament, then, to have the control of the army? Wherever popular assemblies have attempted to command a military force, the thing has usually ended by that force commanding them.

Debate on the Mutiny Bill. March 12, 1822.

War Office Duties.

I am persuaded that in no office is the public business more efficiently discharged than in my own, and that no set of men work harder than the clerks connected with it. I will state one proof, and a melancholy proof of this fact; namely, that since the year 1810, no fewer than twenty-six clerks, all of them in the prime of life, have died of pulmonary and other complaints, arising from sedentary habits.

March 20, 1822.

Mr. Hume no Arithmetician.

The honourable member has talked of the ease with which he himself could make out the Estimates. Now I must say, I would rather not trust him with that office. After the accuracy which the honourable gentleman has displayed in the exercise of his arithmetical functions in this House, I do not think it safe to trust the Estimates in his hands. The difference of a few millions, more or less, though of no consequence to the honourable member, would not be so convenient when the House came to find them in the Army Estimates.

Debate on Army Estimates. March 20, 1822.

The Prerogative of the Crown to appoint and dismiss Officers in the Army ought to be held inviolate.

On general principles, any interference with that branch of the prerogative which relates to the appointment and

removal of the officers of the Army, is totally inexpedient. Of all the prerogatives of the crown, none is more ancient, and none has had a more uninterrupted exercise, than that of dismissing officers, whether they have been tried or not, or whether any reason is or is not assigned for their dismissal.

Debate on Petition from Colonel Allen complaining of the loss of his Commission. March 6, 1823.

Military Discipline.

I contend, that an officer who can supersede, without reason or necessity, the ordinary rules of the service, is unfit to remain in his situation.

Ibid.

The Intention of Royal Prerogative.

I am one of those who consider that the prerogatives of the crown were not given to it for the peculiar advantage, or dignity, or interest of the individual who may happen to wear the crown, but for the interest and benefit of the people.

Ibid.

Threats in Negotiation futile in Diplomacy.

The government had every motive which could arise out of general principles and public duty to use their utmost endeavours to prevent the rupture (between France and Spain). We had but two courses from which to choose, neutrality, or war in conjunction with Spain; but

whichever we determined to adopt, it became us to adopt it decidedly, and adhere to it consistently. Some, indeed, have proposed a middle course, and, strange to say, would have had us use threats in negociation, without being prepared to go to war if negociation failed. To have talked of war, and to have meant neutrality; to have threatened an army, and to have retreated behind a state paper; to have brandished the sword of defiance in the hour of deliberation, and to have ended in a penful of protests on the day of battle, would have been the conduct of a cowardly bully, and would have made us the object of contempt and the laughing stock of Europe.

Debate on Mr. Macdonald's motion respecting the Negotiations relative to Spain. April, 30, 1823.

Only one Mode of arguing with Despotic Governments.

Having, then, determined on neutrality, the question was how best to dissuade France from attack, and to persuade Spain to concession in order to give France a fair pretence for retractation. It has been said that a higher moral tone ought to have been taken by this country, and that true and just principles ought to have been more prominently put forward. If, indeed, the government, instead of labouring to preserve the peace of Europe, had only thought of getting up a case for the House of Commons, it would have been easy to have written papers to satisfy the keenest cravings of the most constitutional appetite. But the object of the government was not to lay a good foundation for a parliamentary

debate, but to persuade those whom they were addressing. Gentlemen opposite are constantly declaiming against the governments of Europe, representing their sovereigns as arbitrary despots, and their ministers as insensible to all the principles of public right by which the intercourse of nations should be governed, and by which their independence is maintained ; yet these very men would have the government address nothing but long and elaborate dissertations upon those abstract principles which they are alleged not to admit. “Cum principia neganti non est disputandum ;”—of what use is it to dwell upon abstract principles with those who are accused of measuring right by power, and of ruling their conduct by expediency, and not by justice ?

Ibid.

Concession on the part of Spain would have been wise.

But would such a modification of the Spanish Constitution (suggested by the British Government) have been a sacrifice of institutions on which the welfare of Spain depended, and which were consecrated in the affections of Spaniards by long experience of blessings under them enjoyed ? Quite the reverse ! I am no lover of despotic government ; I hate it upon principle, as much, perhaps, as some of those gentlemen opposite, who are the loudest and most frequent declaimers against it ; but I cannot shut my eyes to the glaring defects of the Spanish Constitution, and sorry indeed should I be to have to live under such a government. Instead of providing for its gradual consolidation, it carries within itself the seeds of

its own destruction; and instead of securing the welfare and tranquillity of the people, it contains nothing but the elements of eternal discord. This is the opinion, not merely of strangers, but of some of the most enlightened Spaniards. Was it false friendship then, to advise our allies to remedy the most glaring of these defects; and was that advice the less honest, because by its adoption might have been purchased external peace as well as internal concord?

April 30, 1823.

The Duke of Wellington the proper medium of communication between this country and Spain. Eulogium on the Duke.

But an objection has also been taken to the channel by which this advice was tendered. I differ entirely from those who urge such an objection, and I cannot but think that the choice of the Duke of Wellington as the person by whom this advice was to be given, was most delicate towards Spanish feelings, and most consistent with a regard to Spanish honour. If there is any man in Europe from whom advice to Spain would flow free from the remotest taint of suspicion, and might be taken by all Spaniards as dictated by the sincerest regard for Spain, it is the Duke of Wellington. It is often said that nothing creates so strong an affection as the consciousness of benefits conferred. If ever there was a man who conferred upon a nation benefits which ought to call down blessings upon his head from every voice, from the lisping accents of infancy to the tremulous benedictions of age, that man

is the Duke of Wellington—that nation the Spanish people. It is also true in the principles of human nature, that man loves the theatre of his glory and the companions of his triumphs. The proudest laurels that encircle the head of the Duke of Wellington were gathered in the sterile and unfruitful fields of Spain; it was in the provinces of the Peninsula, and surrounded by its co-operating population, that he displayed those various qualities which form the character of the unconquered general and the consummate statesman—characters which, rare in their separate existence, are uncommon indeed in their union in the same individual; it was there that he established that imperishable fame, which will last while history endures. Is it in human nature that the Duke of Wellington should not take the warmest interest in all that concerns Spain and the Spanish people? Is it possible, that they should not feel that advice from him came as free from suspicion as from the best patriot in Spain; and can they suppose that the man who has rescued Spain from subjection, and washed out from her soil the pollution of invading footsteps in the blood of the defeated invader, could counsel Spain to dishonour?

Ibid.

Principle and Policy forbade our interference in the quarrel.

He must be a bold prophet who could venture to foretel the issue of the contest; but he indeed must have been an unwise politician, who would have plunged us at once and blindfold into the war. Our own principles forbade

us till we could see more clearly which way the real sense of the Spanish nation might turn. It is notorious that Spain is divided. It may continue so ; or, national indignation being roused by foreign interference, intestine quarrels may be laid in temporary oblivion, and the nation may unite to drive out the intruder. If the former event took place, we might by precipitation have found ourselves engaged, in violation of our own principles, in supporting a minority in their endeavours to impose upon the nation by force a form of government repugnant to the majority ; if the latter event occurred, our assistance would not be required. But if principle leads us to pause, prudence equally does so. Never did this country want repose more than at the present moment ; never was there a time when it would have been more unwise to engage in a war upon chivalrous and romantic principles, when it was not necessary for our own interests or honour to do so. The country is just beginning to recover from the exhaustion created by a struggle without a parallel in history, whether with reference to the tremendous danger against which it was undertaken, the gigantic efforts by which it was maintained, or the complete success with which it was concluded. We are undoubtedly able to bear any sacrifice which our honour or our security requires ; but would it not have been madness to check our progressive recovery without any such paramount motives ?

* * * * *

But who is prepared to say that we ought at this moment to engage in such a contest, and that the government has not acted wisely in keeping us out of it as long

as possible? If Spain is divided, our interference is, on principle, questionable; if she is united, our interference is unnecessary; if, being united, she is successful without our aid, much will have been gained and nothing lost; by our abstinence we shall have preserved unbroken our resources for future occasions, if any should occur, in which our honour, interests, and safety shall be more directly concerned: and Spain will have had fuller and freer scope to develop that national energy which, while it will make her more worthy of her independence, will qualify her better to enjoy and to maintain it; and if, in spite of our forbearance, we should be at last compelled to take a part in the war, the prolongation of repose will better enable us to bear the burdens which will become inevitable, and the people of this country will then more cheerfully submit to the sacrifice which must be demanded at their hands, because they will have the satisfaction of knowing that the government have deferred those sacrifices till the latest possible moment.

April 30, 1823.

*One means of Interference suggested, not suited to the
End.*

But then it is said, the war, if we had engaged in it, would have been one of a very different scale of effect from that which we last carried on. We might have assisted Spain by ships and money without sending an army to the Peninsula. But how could ships operate in such a case as this? What is the danger? The invasion of the interior of Spain by the armies of France.

And what the proposed prevention? To send a British fleet to the Mediterranean. We might have covered the ocean with our ships; we might have blockaded every port in Europe; but unless those ships had been employed to carry an army to Spain, and to feed that army with supplies, we should only have incurred a loss of money and of character, by making a vain parade of assistance so inapplicable and inappropriate.

April 30, 1823.

Any attempt on our part to preclude French interference in Spain, by crushing French Commerce, would have been pronounced hypocritical.

But it has been urged that we might by means of our fleet have crippled the resources of France, by attacking her commerce, and taking possession of her colonies. If such had been our policy, what would have been the language of reproach which the governments of Europe would have been justified in addressing to us? "O ye consummate hypocrites!" they would have said, "you have made Europe ring with the loftiest sentiments of good faith, of generosity and justice; you have declaimed eloquently and loudly against interested attacks of one nation upon another, against acquisitions of territory, and projects of individual aggrandizement; but, oh, ye nation of philosophers, how have ye practised the principles you preach? You have, indeed, made the rupture between France and Spain a pretence for declaring war against the former; you have, indeed, taken advantage of the difficulties and embarrassments which that rupture brings

upon France to enrich yourselves by plundering her unprotected commerce, by seizing upon her undefended colonies. To gratify British cupidity, no effort has been omitted, no opportunity foregone ; but as to the unfortunate Spaniards, those much-loved allies, for whom such sympathy has been professed, for whose sake you pretended to be driven to arms, to whose rescue you pretended to be preparing to rush—as to the unfortunate Spaniards—those you have abandoned to their fate ; and though the legions of France are pouring down from the summits of the Pyrenees, and spreading like a torrent over the plains of Castile, not one bayonet have you sent to succour and support your sinking allies. Tell us not,” they would have added, “that you are a maritime power, and engage not in continental wars ; tell us not that England fights her battle upon the ocean, and mingles not in combats by land ; for in this very Spain, in support of these very Spaniards, opposed to these very French, we have seen you take the field in all the plenitude of military power, and we have seen you drive back the invader over the mountains from which he came, and restore liberty and independence to Spain. But then you had objects of your own to accomplish, then you had a Buonaparte to dethrone ; it was your own battle you fought, and not the battle of Spain ; now you have no such inducement to exertion ; you know the immeasurable difference between the Napoleon of those days and the Bourbons of this ; and true to your selfish policy and interested principles, you refuse to make an effort which could alone benefit your allies, and meanly content yourself with plundering merchantmen, and conquering

sugar islands." If such reproaches had been addressed to us under such circumstances, I think it would have been difficult, indeed, to have found a satisfactory reply.

April 30, 1823.

The most natural mode of warfare in Spain.

The surest, though it may be the slow resource of Spain, is the desultory but ubiquitary resistance of her population ; a war peculiarly adapted to the nature of the country, and to the character and habits of the people.

Ibid.

The different systems of Military Punishment.

The inference which has been drawn with respect to the military systems of other countries, is neither conclusive in argument, nor correct in point of fact. If corporal punishment is not practised in the army of France, they are less tenacious of human life. If the French Government do not flog, they shoot ; and will any man recommend a greater frequency of the punishment of death ? Besides, the constitution of the British army differs from all others. We are essentially a manufacturing country ; and it is from that class of persons that our recruits are taken. The Austrian army is principally composed of peasants, whose habits of life are, from the nature of their agricultural occupation, simple. In the Prussian army there are two classes. An offender in the first class is not flogged, but degraded to the second class. The

offender in that class is, unless some change has recently taken place, subjected to corporal punishment; not a punishment awarded after a solemn trial, and upon evidence on oath, but at the discretion of an officer in any grade. The ensign can inflict ten, the lieutenant twenty, the captain thirty, the major forty, and the lieutenant-colonel fifty stripes. Is that the model which honourable members would substitute for the regulated system of trial, as existing in our army? What should we say to their system of secret imprisonment, where men are pent up, as it were, in a cage too low for them to stand upright, and that cage floored with sharp bars of wood, having the edges turned upwards? Can imagination devise a more severe system of punishment?

Debate on the Mutiny Bill. March 5, 1824.

Whilst disclaiming all hostility to the Dissenters, desires to see the growth of the Established Church in this country.

It may be necessary for me, after what I have heard to-night, to disclaim all hostility to the Dissenters. I am not one of those who wish to see political distinctions established between religious sects, as I have often proved by my votes in this House; but at the same time, I regret to see the increasing number of the Dissenters. It is my wish that the Established Church should be the predominant one in this country, for nothing I am persuaded can tend more to the general tranquillity and happiness of a

people, than a community of sentiment, as far as it can be obtained without intolerance to any party, in matters of religious doctrine.

Debate on building of new Churches. April 9, 1824.

The line drawn between Churchmen and Dissenters with respect to providing Church accommodation.

If we deny to the people the means of attending divine worship according to the practice of the Established Church, how can we expect that the members of the establishment will continue to increase? It has been said that this defect ought to be remedied by voluntary contributions, and the case of the Dissenters has been alluded to in support of the opinion. But there is a difference between the two cases. The Dissenters, both rich and poor, are under a necessity of providing themselves with places of worship, for which the State makes no provision, and it is easy for the rich Dissenters to make up the sum required. But with the Church of England it is the poor alone who feel the want of Church accommodation. The rich can purchase pews, and they are always certain of finding sufficient room; but it would be preposterous to say that the poor ought to subscribe for churches out of their small earnings.

Ibid.

The true end of Education.

No man can have a stronger feeling of the advantages of having the poor educated than I have; but it ought

to be recollected that education does not merely consist in learning to read and write. These are the means, and not the objects of education; the objects are moral and religious instruction.

Ibid.

Why Scotland is peaceable, and Ireland disorderly.

Let the Committee look at the difference between the inhabitants of Scotland and those of Ireland. In the former, there is a peaceable and orderly disposition to obey the laws; in the latter a constant tendency to outrage and disorder is manifest. What is the cause? It is that the Scotch are better educated than the Irish. I do not mean to say that there are more in one country who know how to write than in the other, for the difference in this respect will be found to be less than is generally imagined; but the fact is, that one people have the advantages of moral and religious education in a much greater degree than the other.

Ibid.

The National Faith plighted to Preserve our Colonies.

It may be a fair question for speculation, perhaps, how far it is for the benefit of a country to possess Colonies—whether it is better that she should confine herself to commerce and improvements at home, or form settlements abroad; but there can be no doubt as to the course which ought to be pursued by a country having already in its possession in such Colonies as belong to England. As far as civilization extends in the world—from the most

northern point in America, to the southernmost extremity of Asia—the formation of British settlements and the accumulation of British wealth, is to be found. To abandon possessions gained at the cost of so much blood and treasure—many of them important outposts for the protection of our commerce, and the security of our dominion, would be a violation of public faith, and a forfeiture of national honour.

Debate on Army Estimates. March 4, 1825.

Improvement in the system of relief to our foreign garrisons necessary.

The colonial service of a country like England ought not to be converted into a perpetual banishment for all who are employed in it. When a man enters the army, he devotes his health, his hopes, his prospects to the service of his country. The feeling which carries him forward is one of a paramount description. It renders him superior to all considerations of fortune, of personal convenience, of death. But the case is widely different when, after going through the dangers and fatigues of a twenty years' war, the same man is sent to consume the rest of his days in a pestilential climate, and on a duty which is unpleasing to him. It is hard to tell brave officers, who have fought through field after field, in a protracted contest, and whose names will be found in every legend which records the victories of England—it is hard to tell such men, now that their country is at peace, to end their lives in some remote colony, compared to the service in which their former perils formed an enviable condition.

The service of these obscure and distant stations is ten times more trying both to the mind and the bodily strength of an officer, than the severest labours which could be imposed on him in an European campaign. There is the climate wasting his life and strength; the mere formal duties, with our existing establishment, extremely harassing and constant; and what is still more galling, there is not the smallest hope of acquiring distinction.

Ibid.

Corporal Punishment.

I am not an advocate for corporal punishment, but I am convinced that, to a certain degree, it is absolutely indispensable.

Debate on the Mutiny Bill. March 11, 1825.

Disclaimer of Warlike Tendencies.

As to displaying too much of a military spirit—a charge which has been repeatedly urged against the government—for myself, and for those with whom I act, I totally disclaim it.

Debate on Army Estimates. March 3, 1826.

*Impolicy of keeping up large Warlike Establishments
in time of Peace.*

I am sensible that there is nothing so absurd, so ill-judged and so inconvenient for the government, as well as being grievous to the country, as large and unnecessary military establishments being kept up in time of peace.

It is not only bad economy as regards the public treasure, but it answers no purpose of political strength and security ; and, in a military sense, for the preservation and maintenance of an effective service and sound discipline, it is notoriously defective. I am no advocate for large military establishments in time of peace.

March 3, 1826.

The Rights of the different portions of the Legislature ought to be maintained inviolate.

When the honourable member (Mr. Hume) proposes to transfer the power (of conferring military rewards) from the Crown to this House, I must beg to remind him that such an expedient would be a wide departure from the fundamental principles of the Constitution. I look upon the House of Commons as the most essential, and most useful branch of the Constitution ; but if the House attempts to wrest from any other portion of the legislature its peculiar functions, it will do an act more destructive to the essence of the Constitution of the country, than has ever been done by any minister in this House. It does not belong to the House of Commons to command the army ; and consequently not to interfere in the distribution of rewards for military service.

Debate on the Army Estimates. February 20, 1827.

Corporal Punishment in the Army a necessity.

The simple question is this : “ Is corporal punishment necessary for the preservation of discipline in the army, or

is it not?" That such a mode of suppressing insubordination is necessary, experience fully proves. The existence of the power to inflict corporal punishment operates as the most effectual preventive of its actual infliction.

Debate on the Mutiny Bill: Corporal Punishments.
March 12, 1827.

*The Duke of Wellington as Minister defended from Mr.
Brougham's attacks.*

The honourable and learned gentleman on the opposite bench, who has thrown such an air of pleasantry about all the observations he has thought proper to address to the House, and who knows so well how to amuse those even against whom his observations may be directed—that learned gentleman has this evening animadverted (although I take leave to say in my opinion, with no great degree of good taste,) upon the military character of his Grace the Duke of Wellington.

The claims which that noble and gallant personage has established on the gratitude of his country, are fixed upon too wide and too firm a basis to be shaken by the taunts or censures of any individual whose political feelings may happen to be excited against him. I am persuaded, therefore, that the noble Duke, confident in the gratitude of his countrymen, would feel so perfectly indifferent to the remarks of the honourable and learned gentleman, that I may safely leave them to be answered by the good taste and intelligence of the House. There is one point, however, on which I am glad to relieve the alarms that seem to be entertained by the honourable and learned

gentleman himself : the military office and command which have formerly been held by his Grace, will no longer be united to the civil functions with which he has so recently been intrusted. I am enabled to state, that the noble Duke tendered to his Majesty his resignation of the office of Commander-in-Chief, at the same time that he accepted the appointment of First Lord of the Treasury : and although no successor to the former of these posts has yet, I believe been appointed, the House may consider such a resignation as accepted, and the Duke of Wellington will cease to be Commander-in-Chief from the present time. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the fears of the honourable and learned gentleman will cease also, as to the accumulated patronage arising from the union of the highest civil and military offices in one and the same person : whatever danger he may have apprehended from this assumed investiture of the general patronage of the army, the government, and the church, in one individual, thus proves to be entirely chimerical and unfounded.

Another objection which the same honourable and learned gentleman has taken to the fitness of the present Prime Minister is this : that his habits and experience have been all military, and not civil. But the honourable gentleman himself has admitted that in that speech in which the noble Duke (with an honourable modesty) disclaimed for himself the possession of such talents as might qualify him for almost the first station in the empire, the very terms and manner in which such disclaimer was made, did show, that the modesty of the speaker much underrated his own capacity. Now, surely,

the learned gentleman's personal knowledge must have sufficiently instructed him that the whole of the Duke of Wellington's experience has not been confined to the army. This house, at least, must know that there has been scarcely any important political transaction in Europe, exclusive of merely military affairs, for the last fifteen years, in which the Duke, either at home or abroad, has not directly borne a part. The honourable and learned member must surely have forgotten the actual state of the case, when he spoke of the services and experience of the Duke of Wellington as altogether military.

Debate on change of Ministry. January 29, 1828.

*The Wellington Administration : the Battle of
Navarin.*

He (Mr. Brougham) says that the Speech pronounces a condemnation upon the battle of Navarin. I assert and maintain that it does no such thing ; that it censures or condemns nothing connected with the transaction. It comprises no censure upon those who were parties to the preparation and execution of the treaty alluded to, and imputes no blame to the gallant Admiral who commanded with such bravery and skill in the battle to which it ultimately led. The royal speech states, that that was "unexpected," and assuredly there can be no doubt that it was so ; for, Sir, although some collision might have been expected and apprehended as likely to arise, in some way or other, between the fleets of the several powers, no such combination of circumstances as that which led to

ultimate hostilities could have been foreseen. It was, therefore a collision entirely unexpected by the Government. Sir, I rather beg pardon of the House for labouring this point even to the extent I have done ; but could it be looked for, that his Majesty should use any expression other than that he has employed, when speaking of the fact of an engagement having occurred between our own fleets and the fleets of a country with which he was not at war, but was, indeed, absolutely connected on terms of alliance ?

Is it not natural, I ask, that his Majesty should have been advised, in alluding to a battle that has happened under such circumstances, to notice it, without, in truth, the smallest condemnation of it, but, nevertheless, in language of regret ? The expressions so employed have not been meant as any reflection, and cannot fairly be construed into any reflection, on the conduct of the English Admiral, who commanded in that engagement. The honours that have been sent out to that gallant Admiral sufficiently prove the truth of the statement I make ; those testimonies alone might suffice to prove that his skill and gallantry are sufficiently appreciated, and the inference is confirmed by the fact, that he continues in his command, and yet fills the high and important trusts which that situation has devolved upon him. Do honourable members believe that this could be the case, if the Government had really felt it fitting, or were desirous, that any censure should be passed upon him ? It would have been incumbent on the Government, in such case, to remove any officer who should have so incurred their censure.

What, then, becomes of the dilemma which the

honourable and learned gentleman has so triumphantly propounded? It is one, Sir, purely ideal, and, except in the imagination of that honourable and learned gentleman, wholly without existence.

But his apprehensions would seem not to be confined either to the treatment of the victors in the late engagement, or to the combination of all power in the person of the Duke of Wellington. He has this evening expressed his fears for the general and internal welfare of the State, and desires to believe that the new Ministry are not retrograding into a system of foreign and commercial policy, which he regards as adverse to the immediate interests, and destructive to the future welfare of the country. I feel, Sir, and am quite aware that nothing on the one hand can be more mischievous or more improper than to declare, by anticipation, what may be the intentions of any Ministry; and that nothing, on the other, can be more satisfactory, either to those who make or those who listen to them, than professions in respect of such intentions; but when I remind the House, that under the new Government the administration of foreign affairs remains in the same hands to which it was confided in the ministry of Mr. Canning; that the late honourable member for Liverpool continues at the head of the Colonial Department, and that the present President of the Board of Trade is still charged, as he was under the late Ministry, with the direction and care of our commercial system; the House will surely concur with me in thinking, that there can be no reason to anticipate that any of these individuals will depart from the principles on which they have already conducted their several offices—principles

which met with almost universal approbation, and certainly with the acknowledged confidence and the support of honourable gentlemen opposite. All I ask, Sir, for the new Government is this: judge of it by its measures—not by any description coming from parties not connected with it, nor yet by any professions which we ourselves may be supposed to make. I affirm that the new Government will ask for the approbation of this House, and the confidence of the country, according only to the measures it shall adopt, and the course which it shall effectively pursue.

Jan. 29, 1828.

The Battle of Navarin.

Before I answer any of the questions put to me, perhaps I may be allowed to repeat the explanation I gave of the term used in the King's speech, with reference to Sir Edward Codrington. I should be sorry, indeed, if it were thought that I had understated anything upon such a point; I meant to say that the word contained in the King's speech, and which has been the subject of so much remark, was not intended to impute the slightest blame to the British Admiral who commanded at Navarin. I stated, as a fact, and a fact becoming his Majesty to notice, that the collision was unexpected. I further stated as a fact—and again, it was right that his Majesty should allude to it—that whatever might be the merits of the individual on the occasion, that collision arose out of “untoward” circumstances, and tended to interrupt the negotiations. Whatever may be the merit of the gallant Admiral by whom the victory was achieved, there can be

no doubt that it had a tendency to interrupt the negotiations which were pending—to produce an alteration in the civil disposition of the Porte—and oppose considerable obstacles to the adjustment of the differences which were under discussion. It is impossible, I think, for any honourable gentleman to deny, that in that sense of the word the battle of Navarin was an “untoward event.” But as far as it relates to the character of the country, and to the reputation and fame of its arms, no human being can suppose that the epithet “untoward” was applied in that sense by his Majesty’s speech. In no fair construction of the passage does it imply any censure on the gallant Admiral, who commanded the allied fleet on that day of arduous but splendid success. This leads me to the question put by the honourable gentleman, the member for Westminster—whether it is the intention of his Majesty’s Ministers to propose a vote of thanks for the battle of Navarin? In reply to that question I must state, that I am not aware of any such intention. It would be contrary to the course which has been followed with regard to events of this nature. I believe it has not been usual to propose the thanks of Parliament for any action not fought in war against an enemy. It has not been usual, I understand, to vote the thanks of Parliament, except for military or naval service against an enemy of the country, after war has been declared. Now this battle, however meritoriously the gallant Admiral may have conducted himself, did take place, it must be admitted, against a power with which we are not at war.

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No censure has been expressed or implied against Sir Edward Codrington. Whatever may have been said by members on each side of the House as to the policy of the Greek treaty, nobody has uttered a word of blame against that gallant officer.

Debate on the Address. January 31, 1828.

*Policy of the Wellington Administration towards
Ireland.*

My honourable friend, the member for the county of Armagh (Mr. Brownlow) in his comments on the King's speech, adverted to the omission of that topic which I know is nearest his heart. If no mention was made of Ireland, I can assure him the omission did not arise from the circumstance, that the Government, or any other Government constituted as it may be, could be insensible to the subject. Whether the Government be composed of persons favourable to the claims of the Catholics, or adverse to them, in either case the condition of so large a part of the empire must be a subject of constant and anxious attention; but it is not usual for the King to advert to any particular part of the empire, unless some remarkable change of circumstances has taken place with regard to it since the previous meeting of Parliament. I am happy to say that nothing of this kind has occurred in Ireland, however much the condition of that country may entitle it to the careful and solicitous attention of Government. My honourable friend, I think, pays a bad compliment to Ireland, in suggesting that it should be treated

as no part of the United Kingdom, and that the King should always refer to it in the same manner as his Majesty speaks of his foreign relations, his relations with other powers. It is undoubtedly true that considerable evils do exist in Ireland, as my honourable friend alleges. It is true that a system of compulsory emigration has been organized, which, I confess, it seems to me does not reflect much credit on those who are engaged in carrying it into execution. I really wonder that persons of property should lend themselves to such measures.

It is also true, that in Ireland now, as for many years past, an intense anxiety prevails as to the course His Majesty's Government and Parliament may deem it proper to pursue with regard to the Catholic Question. But surely neither my honourable friend, nor the people of Ireland, can feel any distrust when they know, as they do, that my right honourable friend (Mr. William Lamb), the Secretary for Ireland, who has succeeded so well in conciliating the confidence and good-will of all parties in that country, and displayed so much discretion and temperance in conducting its affairs—continues to occupy that situation. My honourable friend, the member for Armagh, and those who are with him, equally anxious as to the welfare of Ireland, must regard the continuance of my right honourable friend in his office, as a guarantee that the administration of the affairs of that country will be conducted on the same principles of conciliation as before, and with the same views of keeping the passions of all parties in a state of undisturbed tranquillity. My honourable friend says, it is impossible he can give his support to a Government constituted like the present, because he apprehends that its

patronage, power, and influence will be exerted in opposition to the Catholic claims. I can only say that my view of the Government is essentially different. If he looks over a list of the individuals who are now His Majesty's confidential servants, it will be seen that, in fact, a majority of them have supported the Catholic claims by their votes in Parliament. So far from believing that the Government is constituted so that it will exert its influence, power, and patronage, to favour the resistance to those claims, I declare that if I was not sincerely convinced that a fair and honest neutrality was intended—if I was not completely satisfied that the influence, power, and patronage of Government would not be so exerted—I, for one, would not remain a member of that Government.

Jan. 31, 1828.

Reasons for joining the Wellington Administration.

Much discussion, Sir, has arisen to-night on the subject of the understanding and the guarantees on which my right honourable friend, the Secretary for the Colonies, my noble friend in the other House, and myself, consented to join the present Administration. Questions have been asked, and insinuations have been thrown out, the tendency of which it was not difficult for me to understand. It has been attempted to be shown, that we were not justified, when we agreed to join the Government, by sufficient assurances on the part of those from whom the invitation proceeded, that the measures in which we might be called on to concur, would be such as we could conscientiously support. My right honourable

friend, in particular, has just been accused by a noble Lord (Morpeth) of abandoning what the noble Lord calls the party of the late Mr. Canning, in order to take office with an Administration, some of the members of which are stated to have been hostile and strongly opposed to the measures which have been introduced by my right honourable friend. It is objected to us, that we neglected to make those stipulations upon which the country had a right to expect that we should insist ; but, on the occasion to which allusion has been so repeatedly made, no such stipulations could have been for a moment proposed ; nor, if proposed on the one side, would they have been for a moment entertained on the other. But what my right honourable friend says, amounts in effect to this : he tells you that we felt it our duty to parliament and to the public, to ascertain, by the most direct course of proceeding, and with the most explicit request for full explanations, what were the opinions, and what the intentions of those individuals whom we were thus called in to join, before we agreed to become members of the new government then about to be formed.

When application, in the first instance, was made to myself, the only answer which I felt I could give to an application thus general in its nature, was that I should wish, at the outset, to know of what persons the Government was to consist, of which I was invited to become a member. But when I found, Sir, that my right honourable friend, the Secretary for the Colonies, was proposed to be continued in his office, an office in which he had already given such universal satisfaction ; that it was wished that my noble friend, (Earl Dudley) should continue

to superintend our foreign relations, and that my right honourable friend, the President of the Board of Trade was still to retain the direction of our commercial system ; I felt it, assuredly, unnecessary to ask for stipulations with respect to the principles or policy on which those individuals would act. The confidence, therefore, which I felt in joining the Government, was founded upon the conviction that all the public principles on which I would propose to act would be embodied in their measures : and I wanted no other pledge, and would require no other test, of the sincerity of the Duke of Wellington's declared intention to persevere in those measures, than what I found in the fact of the continuance of these distinguished individuals in their several offices. And when it is stated by my noble friend on the other side, that my right honourable friend, the Secretary for the Colonies, has embraced power in conjunction with those who were opposed to Mr. Canning, why, Sir, from the mouth of the right honourable the Master of the Mint do I draw a refutation, and a triumphant refutation of the charge. What is the amount of that full explanation which the Right honourable the Master of the Mint has given ? Why, Sir, that for one year and a half he had supported the measures of Mr. Canning. Now, under what administration, I ask, was the support of the right honourable gentleman rendered ? Why, Sir, unfortunately for us all, my lamented friend, Mr. Canning, did not sway the powers of the Government over which he presided, for above a year and a half altogether. No longer period elapsed between his appointment as Prime Minister upon the retirement of the Earl of Liverpool and his own death.

I contend, then, that there has been no abandonment of principle or political consistency, either on the part of my right honourable friend or myself in joining the present Government ; nor has there been any such abandonment, either on the part of the noble head of that Government, the Duke of Wellington, or of my noble friend, Earl Dudley ; because we were not called upon to depart from any principles on which we had already acted, and to which we were already pledged. All we could require of the noble Duke and his colleagues was, that we should continue to act on those principles which we had formerly advocated under another ministry, and to support those measures in the preparation of which we had been partakers. So much then, Sir, for what regards our consistency in respect of our general public principles ; in respect I mean, first, of our foreign relations, and, secondly, of our commercial policy.

Discussion on the late Administration, February 18,
1828.

The Catholic Question.

Sir, there is a third question which I think the most important question of the present day, as in all human probability it is the most important which I shall ever hear discussed in this House ; I mean the Catholic question. Now, upon this question, it has been endeavoured to taunt us with a dereliction of political principle, because we are charged with having joined an Administration, that, from the known opinions of some of its members, must necessarily be (in the view of those, that is, who take the objection)

the most hostile to the concession of the Catholic claims. Let me ask, Sir, by whom has it been laid down, by what authority has it been held, that in this country the Catholic Question shall be a line of demarcation, which is to divide men and opinions by an impassable boundary—which is to split the community into incompatible and irreconcilable parties? Is a difference on this question absolutely to prevent public men from acting together in public life? Why, Sir, this view of the matter has not furnished the ground upon which any Government has lately been formed in this country; and looking to the present state of public opinion on this subject, it is not the ground on which, I am bold to say, any Government in this country can be founded. In the present state of public opinion, Sir, however the Government might be disposed towards the question, it is a question which no motion of the Government itself could carry. In my humble apprehension, there must first be a change in the public opinion on the subject; and that change, I should say, must be operated or produced by discussions in this House, which may ultimately draw the public attention, or lead or induce it to the most full and dispassionate investigation of the question. When the question is to be carried, it will not be, as I conceive, by the will of the Government; and I say this the rather, because I own I do not wish to see a perfect concurrence of opinion on the subject, among all the members of the Government, unless the public mind were previously prepared, as I trust at no distant period it will be, to acquiesce in the concession. All, therefore, that can be wished in the mean time upon this head is—that the Cabinet should contain a sufficient

number of persons favourably to the question, to tranquillize the public mind of Ireland on that score—to make the Catholics feel that, at least, their cause will not suffer for want of zealous and able advocates, and to satisfy them that the public influence which every Government must in a greater or less degree possess, will not be exercised against them. Now, Sir, in point of numbers, the majority of ministers who form the Cabinet of the present day, are those who have voted uniformly in favour of Catholic Emancipation. But unfortunately, circumstances have occurred in the mean time, which have made it necessary for some of them to call for further explanations as to the means by which the attainment of this question has elsewhere been pursued; and to have some further communications with the local Government as to its own impressions upon the subject. On this last great question, we did not ask the Duke of Wellington to abandon any opinions which he might have previously entertained; but we thought it fair to ourselves and to him, to ask exactly how he stood with regard to it, and what were his impressions on the subject; and to that inquiry he returned the most explicit and the most satisfactory answer.

Discussion on the late Administration. February 28,
1828.

*Policy of the Wellington Administration as to the
Government of Ireland.*

If any person, with regard to the Government of Ireland, considers only the triumph of party, I should say to

him, look through the whole range of public officers, and select somebody who would govern in Ireland upon the strictest notions of the necessity of maintaining the Protestant ascendancy ; and you may still be sure, that notwithstanding he may unite to those notions the most earnest determination to administer his executive functions impartially and beneficially, the necessity of your entertaining this great question will still be irresistibly pressed upon you. The division of parties that now prevails will distract Ireland until that question shall be settled ; and meanwhile, you must endeavour, by a strict, equal, and important administration, to control this spirit of party, instead of permitting it to afflict that kingdom. This Sir, was another point upon which I judged it necessary to inquire, what were the intentions of the new Government. But when I found that the Government of Ireland was proposed to the same noble and distinguished individual to whom the last Government had offered it, and when I found that my right honourable friend near me (Mr. William Lamb) was wished to be continued in the same responsible office, which he has hitherto held with so much honour to himself, and such advantage and satisfaction to the country, it was impossible that I should not feel that I could not have no room for hesitation in connecting myself with a government, which was to be carried on by such officers, and upon such principles.

Sir, we had other conferences on other subjects with that noble Duke ; and though we did not ask for stipulations—which men of honour could not require, and men

of honour could not give—yet, out of these conferences we came with the moral conviction on our own minds, that it was the intention of the noble Duke to conduct his administration upon principles that we conceived to be right and proper. But then it is asked, Sir, what security have we that the noble Duke will conduct his government on these principles? only this, Sir—our own free will: for when a Minister of the Crown finds that his colleagues do not act upon the principles, in the faith of which, and at their invitation, he has joined them, it is competent, I presume, to that Minister immediately to vindicate his own consistency, and those principles, by an instant separation from the Government. I think, Sir, I have sufficiently vindicated the consistency of those members of the new Government, who were also members of Mr. Canning's administration, and who held the same opinions on the Catholic question with that lamented statesman. We have entered a Government which pledges itself to strict neutrality on that great question, and we exercise our own judgment on the other important questions of foreign and domestic policy. As to the charge of our blending personal feelings with matters of public policy, I am sure the House and the country will not, could not, expect the minds even of the most gifted men to be entirely free from those feelings. All that can be fairly expected is, that those feelings will not triumph over principle. This is as far as the country is concerned; for ourselves, I can only repeat, what I stated on a former evening, that should our own views and principles be thwarted, and should the strict neutrality on the Catholic question be departed from—events which the

character of the head of the Government precludes our anticipating—retirement from office presents itself as our easy and inevitable remedy.

Discussion on the late Administration. February 28,
1828.

The Mutiny Bill.

I beg leave to inform the Committee, that the Mutiny Bill recites the number of men voted for the year, as a foundation for the code of laws by which the Crown governs the army in time of peace; but it is not to be supposed that by that recital, the Crown is bound to keep up the full number of men enumerated in it. The Mutiny Bill recites that a greater number of men is employed for the service of the year, than the Crown can ever bring into the country, or than ever were actually in the realm at one time. No difficulty, therefore, occurs upon that head; because, if the Crown were inclined, spontaneously, to disband the army entirely, it would not be prevented from doing so by the large number of men recited in the Mutiny Bill, as engaged for the year. It is consequently clear, that even though the Committee should agree to a vote for a given number of men for the year, and should insert that number in the Mutiny Bill, it can subsequently reduce that number; and that the large number to which it may at first agree, will be no conclusion against its subsequently consenting to reduce it to such a small number as any committee might think proper to advise. The objection, therefore, that is started upon this ground cannot apply to the vote now under discussion. I have been asked what con-

venience the service will gain by having the Mutiny Bill passed for the whole year instead of for half a year. If any gentleman will take the trouble to look at the last clause of the Mutiny Bill, he will see that its continuance is limited to different times in different places, according to their distance from England. Now, if we break all those periods into two, we shall render that clause still more complicated than it is already. I admit that this would not be the case with the Marine Mutiny Bill, and for this reason—that the marines in time of peace are generally stationed at home. If then, the course which I propose leaves open the revision of the numbers for the year, just as much as if the grant had been for six months, I trust that the Committee will not quarrel with it, because some convenience is obtained by it.

Supply. February 22, 1828.

Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts. Reasons for voting against.

I can very sincerely assure the House that, at this period of the night, and at this stage of the present debate, it is not my intention to detain them more than a very few minutes. I do declare to the House, that I am really most anxious to be permitted, however shortly, to state the grounds of the vote which I shall this night feel bound to give, and I am the more desirous of doing this as that vote will be adverse to the motion of the noble Lord (Russell). I am still further anxious to do so, for I should be extremely sorry, indeed, were the considerations which

influence my intended vote for a moment misconstrued into the acknowledging myself favourable to a continuance of the laws now under consideration. I beg most distinctly to declare, that I am a warm and zealous friend to religious liberty—that I am as strenuous a partisan of religious freedom as the noble Lord himself, or any other honourable member of this House. I concur with him as far as he or any man can wish, that restraints upon the consciences of men can never be advantageous. No good, no public benefit can arise from them—much evil may possibly ensue from their operation—they convert into hypocrites men who would otherwise have been honest—they sow the spirit of disaffection amongst men who would otherwise have been loyal. They proceed upon a principle the most fallacious that can be conceived; namely, that of assuming that peculiar religious opinions necessarily indicate the existence, in the same individual, of peculiar political opinions; for it is not for a moment contended, that these restraints were imposed for the purpose of putting down religious sentiments of a peculiar character. No such thing—it is fully understood that they were imposed for the purpose of guarding against political acts, which were expected to proceed from political opinions attributed to those who held religious tenets like theirs against whom these statutes had been directed.

Now, Sir, I fully agree with those who think that in their operation, if they were in operation at all, they must prove nugatory for the objects of their framers, and most unjust as respects those against whose consciences they were directed. If we refer to times of internal dissension, when breaches of law were frequent, and even treason did

not fear to show itself; I am perfectly ready to admit, and I take much pleasure in referring to the fact, that the Dissenters were not open to any accusation; and as a sincere though humble advocate of religious freedom, I take leave to say, that no particular set of theological opinions has been found to distinguish those who have ranged themselves against the existing government, and the preservation of social order. It is asked, do these precautionary tests afford a sufficient safeguard for the interest of the Established Church? I think they do not—in that point of view, I attach no value or importance to them. In my humble opinion, no rational man can set the slightest value on them for such a purpose. The safety of the Church depends upon the number and character of those who are included within its pale; depends upon its doctrines, its opinions, and its practical morality. But when it seeks to sustain its existence, (and I deny that its friends in the present case propose so to do) by means of imposing upon others tests, contrary to their consciences, it only rouses into activity that principle of human nature which makes men instinctively revolt from any shackles upon the freedom of thought—which makes them hold with increased tenacity those very opinions which persecution would in vain seek to eradicate. No, Sir, I think that in the present day, the Established Church of this country derives no advantages from such safeguards, if safeguards they at all can be considered. In these times the safety of the Established Church is founded upon the piety and learning of its prelates and clergy; and still more, upon their practical morality. Its safety is in these times ensured, not by the pains and disabilities imposed upon other

denominations of Christians, but by the reverence which it has inspired, and continues to inspire, amongst the bulk of the people. So long as that freely is acknowledged—that learning pre-eminent, that morality spotless, and that general reverence unabated—it may disdain any attempts at external hostility. If, then, I consider these laws unjust in the abstract—if I think them inexpedient even now—if I disregard them as securities to the Established Church—it will naturally be asked on what grounds I propose to justify my voting against the motion of the noble Lord? Now, Sir, I must in the first place, be permitted to say, that in spite of the refined legal arguments this night so ingeniously placed before the House—in spite of all the hypothetical cases suggested with such ability,—I must contend, that of late years those Acts have been, to all intents and purposes, practically repealed. It is utterly vain to deny that they have been virtually suspended, and that there is not now, that there has not been for years, the slightest possible grievance affecting the Dissenters. It must be fully in the recollection of the House, that there are two great classes in this country, who complain of labouring under religious disabilities. I mean the Catholics and the Dissenters. Now, I am unwilling that the jealousy of the latter should be excited towards the former. I am unwilling that the lesser evil should be removed before the greater becomes the object of legislative interference. I wish to bring the one up to the level of the other; or, rather, I do not wish to be guilty of the partiality of relieving the Dissenter from that which is merely nominal, while the Catholic labours under real and substantial disabilities, and has, in fact, great grievances to

complain of. It is upon these grounds, Sir, that I am unwilling to accede to the motion of the noble Lord. Just as the measure may be in the abstract, expedient as it may be under any circumstances, and indifferent as it may be to the interest of the Established Church, I am unwilling, I say, Sir, to be so unjust towards the Catholics as to remove from others, or mitigate, I might say, an imaginary grievance, while real inflictions press upon them. While their fetters yet remain to be struck off, I can never consent to the demands of the Dissenters.

Lord John Russell's Motion. February 26, 1828.

Flogging in the Army.

I will not again go over the old argument upon this subject. To state the objection to what is proposed generally, it is this—that where there are large bodies of armed men collected together, strong measures are necessary to keep them in order. Means which might be used for this end in other countries cannot be resorted to in this. How, for instance, could the punishment so much insisted on, of a solitary confinement, be inflicted in this country? Our troops are not in strong garrisoned towns or military fortresses, where men can be confined apart from their comrades. We have no mode of imprisoning soldiers, except sending them to the common gaols; and I do not think that an association with the ordinary inhabitants of gaols would be likely to send a soldier back

to his regiment at all improved. It is a great mistake to suppose that corporal punishment does not prevail in foreign armies. Foreign soldiers are subject to blows and stripes, and the only difference between them and our soldiers is, that in the one case this species of punishment is inflicted with trial; and in the other, without trial. I apprehend that the House would not be inclined to follow this course. Many of the substitutes for this punishment in foreign countries would not be tolerated in England. If our soldiers were seen parading the streets with cannon-balls chained to their legs, I am quite sure that such a spectacle would be much more revolting and disgusting to the public mind than the present system. But to come at once to the proposition of the noble Lord. The noble Lord wishes to abolish all corporal punishment, except for certain offences named in the clause. Now, the Mutiny Act, and the Articles of War, say, "Go to the civil power whenever it is possible," and the cases in which this is not possible are the very cases in which the noble Lord wishes to do away with corporal punishment. In cases which are not cognizable by the civil power, the noble Lord would take away corporal punishments. The Mutiny Act was passed to provide for cases which called for immediate interposition, and which the ordinary course of the law could not put down. These were, desertion, disobedience, insubordination, and mutiny, whatever it might be, and these the noble Lord wishes to exclude from corporal punishment. But the noble Lord's proposition involves an impossibility, and I think that it would be better to say that there should be no punish-

ment but death, and take away corporal punishment altogether, rather than make such dangerous exclusions as these.

Debate on Mutiny Bill. March, 10, 1828.

Defence of Mr. Canning.

I cannot but express my regret, that a noble Lord should have thought fit to take an opportunity afforded by the discussion of last night, to renew his hostility to Mr. Canning with such an apparent spirit of rancour. I was one of those who formed part of the Ministry that agreed with the policy of Mr. Canning's measures; and I therefore feel it necessary to state shortly my opinions of the principles and policy of the Government of this country while he was at its head. I believe then, Sir, that his principles and his policy were most excellently adapted for the benefit of this country; and that as the principles which emanated from him are followed, just in that proportion will those who adopt them conduce to its interest and advantage, and obtain for their Government the confidence and approbation of the people. With respect to Mr. Canning's personal character, I shall not enter into any discussion upon it. His political character is what we have to do with, and that has now become the subject of history. I merely rose to say, that I do not agree with those who are unfavourable to the present vote.

Debate on Provision for Mr. Canning's Family. May 14, 1828.

Sale of Commissions. Reasons for approving.

At the conclusion of the war, a reduction of the army necessarily took place; a great many officers were placed on half-pay, and the situations on the full-pay of the army, which became vacant, were regularly filled up by officers from the half-pay. Such was the system on which we progressively acted, from the close of the war till the commencement of the year 1827. It was then found that it had the effect of stopping promotion in regiments, and of continuing officers in situations for which their increasing age was every day rendering them more unfit. The army had become, as it were, stagnant; and it was discovered that it was necessary that some additional scope should be given to promotion. The arrangement proposed for that purpose was this:—Certain officers, of a certain rank, were allowed, for a certain period, to sell their half-pay commissions to such officers of an inferior rank on the full-pay as might be inclined to purchase them. The consequence of this was to remove old officers from their regiments, and to give a scope to preferment among the younger officers, who remained behind. As young captains on full-pay, in many instances, bought the commissions of old majors on half-pay, I admit that the charge on the half-pay list became greater. The loss to the public is incurred in this manner:—a major who may live fifteen years, is succeeded by another major who may live twenty-five years, and thus the public is saddled with an annuity which is likely to continue for a longer time. The period has not, however, yet arrived in which the honourable member for

Montrose can affirm that any loss has been actually sustained by the public ; for as yet, the public has only to pay the same half-pay as before ; and it will not be till the expiration of the ten years, that the public will have to pay the annuity, exclusively, to the younger life. I admit that if there be no other besides this check upon this arrangement, the public is pledged to the payment of these annuities beyond the time to which they were originally designed to extend. But I stated on a former occasion to the House, that the arrangement does not stop here. Who, I would ask, are the persons who purchase these annuities? Those officers who are well provided with money. Is it to be supposed that an officer of fortune will buy a commission which places him on half-pay, if he has no other chance than that of being shelved by such a proceeding? No ; the object for which men of fortune invest their capital in these annuities, is plain and obvious—it is to obtain promotion. What is the probability, and what is the fact on this subject? A major who has a half-pay commission, sells it to a captain on full-pay ; the captain then becomes a major on half-pay, and wishing for employment, looks out immediately for a full-pay major desirous of retiring, with whom he may effectuate an exchange : so that by an intermediate change, it often happens that one old major on the half-pay list is succeeded at one remove by another major equally advanced in years. I, therefore, recommend to the honourable member for Montrose, to alter the nature of his motion, and to make it embrace a return of those officers who have bought half-pay, and have afterwards exchanged into full-pay. I now ask the House to consider what is the result of this arrangement, even

upon the showing of the honourable member for Montrose himself. The sellers got the old price for their commissions, and the purchasers paid the new, and it appears from the returns, that in this manner the public has already received, in hard money, a sum of seventy-two thousand pounds. Against this gain on the part of the public, is to be set the loss, which I admit that it has incurred, by having to pay a certain number of annuities which will commence in ten years hence, and will last ten years after they do commence. Now what annuity to begin at the end of ten years, and to last for ten years afterwards, can you purchase for the sum of seventy-two thousand pounds? I should suppose a very large annuity indeed. Therefore, if that second exchange, of which I have just spoken, were not to take place, the calculation on the amount of the number of pounds lost to the public, would not rest entirely upon the probable duration of the lives of those who purchased the half-pay, being greater than that of those who sold it. If, however, the House takes into consideration the effects of the second exchange, it will see that, in all probability, no pecuniary loss will be suffered by the public. But, leaving the question of loss to the public out of consideration, I will now ask what effect has this arrangement produced upon the army? It has given the army an active establishment—it has provided it with efficient officers—it has given it a character for activity and efficiency, which is of the utmost advantage to the public service. It was on that ground that I originally proposed the arrangement to Parliament. I did not propound it as a measure of pecuniary advantage, but as a measure likely to conduce, and I will now say that it has

conducted, to the efficiency of the service. I will here observe, that the honourable member for Montrose has pushed his argument so far in one direction to-night, that he does not perceive how far it strengthens, in another, the arguments which I have had occasion to address to the honourable member's understanding upon former occasions. The honourable member for Montrose has frequently reproached those who have had the disposal of the patronage of the army, with not filling up the vacancies which occur on the full-pay, with officers taken from the half-pay. On such occasions, I have as frequently said, that though there are many officers on the half-pay, who are willing enough to serve, the House deceives itself if it supposes that those officers are, therefore, fit and competent for service. I told the House, that there were not only colonels and majors, but lieutenants and ensigns, who, from the time during which they had been on the half-pay list, could not be again brought with any useful effect into actual service.

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The honourable member for Montrose then asks: "Is it not unjust to allow persons who have been so long on the half-pay list to sell their commissions at all?" To this I answer, that so long as those persons live, they must remain a burden on the public. Is it not, therefore, an advantage to enable them to retire, and to supply their places with officers who, in case of emergency, can be called into active service without danger to the interest of the country? So far am I from thinking that the statements which the honourable member for Montrose has

to-night made convey any censure upon the administration, that I think them most serviceable in showing the expediency of weeding out of the half-pay list those individuals who cannot, by any possibility, perform any efficient service to their country. They received their commissions under the rules of the service ; and under those rules they are undoubtedly entitled to their half-pay for life ; and the question for consideration now is, whether you will allow them to withdraw from the service, entirely, and to fill up their places with officers who are desirous of exchanging with them. I will not pretend to follow the honourable member for Montrose through all the cases of individuals which he has mentioned to the House to-night. Nothing, in my opinion, can be worse than to bring the names of individuals into debate, on a motion like the present. The question which it involves ought to be decided upon principle, and upon principle alone. If the principle be wrong, it will not be made worse by mixing it up with individual cases ; and if it be right, I will take my stand upon it at once.

Debate on Army Promotions. March 12, 1828.

Reasons for resigning, with Mr. Huskisson, office under the Duke of Wellington.

The great objection which has been urged to my right honourable friend's conduct, and the cause of his removal from office, have been placed, not on the vote which he gave on the East Retford Bill, but on the letter which he wrote to the noble Duke at the head of the Govern-

ment ; after that vote, which letter, it is alleged, contained a formal and positive resignation of his office ; and it is said, that the noble Duke, having once received such a letter, had no option left but either to make a submission on the part of himself and the Government, by soliciting my right honourable friend to remain in office, or else to lose the advantage of his services. Now this might be perfectly just, if it were correct to say, that my right honourable friend had meant by that letter, to tender his formal and positive resignation. But how stand the facts of the case ? My right honourable friend has himself stated, that that letter was written at a very late hour of the night, after a long debate in this House, when he was labouring under great physical exhaustion and fatigue, and much mental excitement, arising from circumstances which led to its being written at all ; and he has admitted, that if he had postponed the letter till the next morning, he should probably have stated his meaning more fully and explicitly, and in a manner so distinct, as to have prevented the possibility of misunderstanding.

My right honourable friend has also said, that he does not complain of the sense in which the noble Duke at the head of his Majesty's Government understood his letter, when his Grace first received it. But this, Sir, I must declare—that let that letter have been susceptible of what meaning it might, either that with which it was read, or that with which it was written—I think that, taking into consideration all the circumstances under which that letter was sent and received, there was an extraordinary degree of rapidity on the part of his Grace, in acting upon that letter, and determining to submit it to his Majesty, with-

out having taken a single step, directly or indirectly, to ascertain the spirit in which that letter was written. It may be said, that when the head of a Government receives from a member of that Government, a letter which he understands as containing a resignation of his official station, it is his duty to communicate such letter, without delay, to his royal master. Sir, I deny that this letter was of that character; but granting that it was of that character, what was the course pursued in this instance? The only reason for laying such a letter without any delay before the King, must be the necessity of advising the King, without delay, thereupon; but, in this case, it appears that the letter was laid before his Majesty without any final and definitive advice accompanying that act. Nearly a week is allowed to elapse, and it is not till the Sunday following, that such advice is given. Now, if the case admitted of so much delay as this, it might surely have admitted of such delay before its being submitted to his Majesty, as would have given my right honourable friend an opportunity of explaining his meaning. But it is not merely that no explanation was asked. My right honourable friend gave explanations, and those explanations were disregarded. My right honourable friend did, on Tuesday, twice offer an explanation to the noble Duke—once by my noble friend, at that time Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and again by myself. I did not know what had occurred until four o'clock on Tuesday, when my right honourable friend sent for me, and communicated it to me. I immediately waited upon the noble Duke, in order to describe the transaction, and to state the circumstances which had led to the course pursued by myself, as

well as by my right honourable friend, in the debate on the East Retford Bill; and also to explain the sense in which I understood my right honourable friend to have written his letter. After having had a conversation with the noble Duke, of considerable length, I returned to my right honourable friend, and told him that the sense in which his letter was understood was different from that in which he had written it; and I advised him to give an explanation of his letter in writing. That explanation, Sir, was accordingly given, but it failed in producing its object. On the following day, my right honourable friend repeated his explanation, detailing minutely the sense in which he meant his original letter to be understood; and, on the Thursday, my right honourable friend received from the noble Duke the letter which he has just read to the House—a letter, passing wholly by all the explanations which my right honourable friend had offered, both verbally and in writing; and pinning my right honourable friend to a meaning, not that which he distinctly and explicitly declared through his friends, and in writing, his first letter was intended to express, but that which the noble Duke himself had affixed to the letter when first he read it, and before he received any explanations at all.

I have stated these circumstances in greater detail than may be thought necessary; but I have dwelt upon them, in order to show that there was the greatest possible alacrity to take advantage of my right honourable friend's first letter—to fix him with a positive resignation; and no desire at all to receive any subsequent explanation.

When that letter of Thursday was shown to me, I

felt that the door was closed against all further attempts at accommodation. I felt that, when my right honourable friend's explanations were left wholly unnoticed—when, instead of saying to him, “Your explanation is deficient here, or wanting there,” and pointing out to him where it fell short, in order to enable him to fill up the gaps, and supply the deficiencies—when, instead of this, came a letter wholly and entirely passing by all the explanations that had been given, I felt that—from whatever causes this conduct might spring, there was no chance of any further explanation leading to a satisfactory result. I stated to my right honourable friend that that was my impression; and acting upon this impression, as I felt myself called upon to do under all the circumstances, I waited immediately upon my right honourable friend, the Secretary of State for the Home Department. I told him that I had seen the letter of that morning from the noble Duke; that it seemed to me to shut the door against the possibility of accommodation; and that, as under all the circumstances of the case, I felt I had no choice as to the course I had myself to pursue, I requested that he would postpone the notice for the Army Estimates—which stood in my name for the following day—in order that there might be time to make the necessary arrangements with respect to them. What, then, was the situation in which my right honourable friend was left from the Thursday to the Sunday? He had explained, as far as human ingenuity could explain it, the sense of his letter; but his explanations had not been accepted. He had expressed a wish to give an explanation of his conduct to his Sovereign, but was debarred access to him. I do not mean to say, that this

was inconsistent with constitutional principles, or that the head of the government had not a right to advise his Sovereign, as the noble Duke did. He might fairly say to his Majesty, "This is a question between me and a member of the government; and, if it is your Majesty's pleasure to retain me in your councils, I advise your Majesty to let me conclude the matter." I do not deny that the noble Duke might so advise his Sovereign; but, if this course was pursued—if my right honourable friend was not to be permitted to explain to his Sovereign the real meaning of a letter, which he had never intended should be laid before his Sovereign, and of which the Sovereign had received a mistaken impression, at least, it was due to my right honourable friend, that some indication should be given—that some clue should be afforded him, by which he should be able to discover what was the further explanation that would be deemed satisfactory by the noble Duke himself.

June 2, 1828.

The subject continued.

It may be thought presumption in so humble an individual as myself to imagine it of importance to any one in this House, or elsewhere, to know what the grounds were upon which I either accepted office, or retired from it; but it will be a satisfaction to set myself right with the public on this, to me, interesting subject: and it is a satisfaction which I cannot deny myself. My main reason, then, for joining the Government formed by the noble Duke in January last, was confidence in my right

honourable friend (Mr. Huskisson). I have strong and decided opinions on some general principles of Government; to the greater part of these principles my right honourable friend is pledged—upon them his high reputation has been founded, and by them he must abide. I felt, therefore, that so long as my right honourable friend was a member of the Government, I had a security that I should never be placed in the embarrassing situation of having, singly, to withdraw myself from the councils of His Majesty, or of being obliged to give my assent to measures of which I could not approve. I had not the presumption to think that I could have sufficient weight of myself to give effect to opinions I might entertain; but I knew that I should be secure, as long as my right honourable friend continued to be a member of the Government to which I belonged. Such being the ground on which I joined the Government, the retirement of my right honourable friend from office, under any circumstances, would naturally make me deliberate on the possibility of my remaining a part of the Administration, and I could scarcely feel that I should be able to do so with comfort and satisfaction to myself. But, Sir, in considering the circumstances which attended my right honourable friend's removal from office, they did appear to me to afford such strong indications of feelings, and impressions, and opinions in the Cabinet, different from those which I supposed to exist, or which I was disposed to be a party to, that, even if I had had no share in the vote out of which those circumstances arose, I could not have reconciled my mind to remain a part of the Government after my right honourable friend had been removed from it in the manner he had been.

Sir, I must say, that there is a striking contrast between the manner in which my right honourable friend has been recently treated, and the manner in which he was treated in January last. In January, the greatest importance was attached to the accession of my right honourable friend to the Government then forming. At that period, there seemed no indisposition to receive, or to give explanations—there was no difficulty in coming to mutual understandings; but now, the explanations offered on one side, so far from being met by similar explanations on the other, were not even noticed; and all the attempts made to come to a satisfactory understanding seemed only to confirm the original misunderstanding. I could not look upon this great change without supposing that it proceeded from some cause or other. It was impossible for me not to feel, that there was a diminished confidence in my right honourable friend on the part of the noble Duke at the head of the Government. It was impossible also for me not to feel, that that diminished confidence was not the result of the public conduct of my right honourable friend.

He was not less able than when his accession was sought for, nor did he possess, in a less degree, the confidence of the House and of the public. When I saw this—I am speaking of my own impressions—when I saw this change of sentiment towards my right honourable friend, and saw him removed from His Majesty's service, I felt that it was high time for me also to withdraw. It was impossible I could longer remain a member of a Government which seemed opposed to the principles I was inclined to act upon. This impression that I have spoken of was not, however, my own alone. I appeal to those who

have opportunities of knowing what is passing in this great town, whether the streets of the metropolis have not been alive with persons running about in the ecstasy of exultation, congratulating each other upon the changes which have taken place in men, and those which they expect in measures. I appeal to any gentleman in this House to say, whether the language of those to whom I have alluded, does not prove my assertion, that my impression is that of others. The persons who have held this language are the avowed friends, supporters, and well-wishers, if not the actual organs and advisers of the present Government. What are we to conclude, then, when we hear these persons talking of "cleansing the Augean stable"—of "expelling traitors from the camp"—of "turning out liberals, whom it might be useful to take in just at first, and whom it might be convenient to retain, if they became docile and tractable?" When we hear such language as this from those who can have no wish or desire to misrepresent the sentiments of those they support, can I be wrong in my impression, that there was an altered disposition towards my right honourable friend, or wrong in saying that that impression was not confined to me? It is clear that these persons, whose language I have repeated, have the same impression as myself; and they speak with open heart, for they can have no disposition to impute to the Government anything which they would think likely to throw discredit upon it. All they have said has been matter of boast, and it is an inclination not to be doubted.

June 2, 1828.

The Justice of the Wellington Administration.

We are however told, Sir, that the principles of the Government are to undergo no change. I am rejoiced to hear it; for if the promise be fulfilled, it will be conclusive to the best interests of the country. It has been said, that to speak of the principles of this man or that man is an ambiguous phrase; but, Sir, I say, that the course of measures which has been pursued for some years past, has been founded upon principles highly conducive to the most important interests of the country, and which have contributed to promote its internal welfare, and to raise it in the estimation of all the other nations of the world. The manner in which our foreign relations have for some years been managed, has placed this country on a point of proud pre-eminence, which, in no former period of our history, has been surpassed, and rarely has been equalled. This superiority has not been gained by lawless violence, or oppression, by insulting the rights, or trampling upon the independence of nations. It has been gained by the confidence inspired by our justice, our moderation, and the enlightened wisdom of our councils. It is this, that has procured us the respect of all nations of the civilized world, and has made the King of this country to be chosen as the arbiter, as it were, of nations, and to be placed in a situation of greater real dignity than was ever attained by the conqueror who lately ruled over the destinies of France. It is an eminence, too, which, as it was not obtained by violence, but by wisdom, and the influence of our councils, is so much the more worthy of envy and admiration.

Sir, it is said, that the course which has placed the English King and nation in this high station will remain unchanged. I trust that it will ; but there are symptoms of fearful prognostication in the signs of the times ; there are omens abroad of alarming import ; there are sounds which meet us on every passing breeze, which are like unto the voices of mysterious and directing spirits, warning us of approaching evil. I hope these predictions may be falsified ; I hope these omens may be vain ; I hope these voices may pass away like the idle whisperings of the empty wind.

I trust, Sir, that His Majesty's Government will not endeavour to establish their claims to the confidence of the people, by giving "one cheer more" to the ascendancy of discord and faction at home, nor by entering into league with the arbitrary principles abroad. I trust that His Majesty's Government will found their claim to the approbation of the people by maintaining, not in this country alone, but wherever their measures may extend, the ascendancy of liberal, wise, just, and enlightened principles. Sir, I am persuaded that it is only by pursuing such a course, that His Majesty's Government can obtain the confidence of this House and of the public ; it is only by pursuing such a course, that they can secure the permanence of their own power.

June 2, 1828.

East Retford disfranchisement.

I am anxious to express my desire that the franchise should be extended to a great town, not because I am

a friend to reform in principle, but because I am its decided enemy. I think that extending the franchise to large towns, on such occasions as the one in question, is the only mode by which the House can avoid the adoption, at some time or other, of a general plan of reform. The practical evil which results from large manufacturing interests not being represented is that which we so frequently have occasion to observe in the disturbed state of the manufacturing towns. It is my opinion that the disturbances, which on many occasions, have agitated these great commercial districts, would have been prevented, if such places had possessed a legitimate organ for the expression of their opinions. In my view of the matter, there are a great number of well-disposed and well-intentioned persons, who are advocates of reform, because they see the glaring inconsistency and absurdity of the fact, that such a place as Birmingham, Leeds, or Manchester, with a large population, is unrepresented, while a green mound of earth sends two members to this House. I admit, that it is better to submit to the inconsistency, than to allow of the introduction of general reform; but then, I also say, let us take advantage of other occasions that may present themselves; and, when we are called on to legislate on the delinquency of a borough, let us gradually remedy the existing corruption. The question is, what are we to do with the Bill, in its present state? Now, I object to it as it stands; but I can conceive a case in which I would vote for the Bill. It is too late, however, for the Bill to pass this session. If it went up to the Lords, there would not remain sufficient time to enable them to dispose of it. Our agreeing

to the passing of this Bill would not, therefore, be attended with any practical benefit. Thus to open the franchise to the neighbourhood, is not the kind of transfer that I wish for. Instead of punishing those who have pursued a course of corruption, it will tend to sanction them in that course. Under these circumstances, I shall vote for the amendment, rather than sanction a principle to which I cannot agree.

June 27, 1828.

Objections to the Usury Laws.

I am aware, that, in former times many well-meaning persons entertained a high opinion of the policy and necessity of the usury laws; but I believe, Sir, that at present nobody can prove that they are effective for the purpose of their enactment, and that all must admit them to be replete with inconvenience to commercial transactions, and with injustice to individuals, when, if ever, they are called into operation. But look at the principle on which they are founded: can it be held, for a moment, that there is any justice in it? Is it just to say to the proprietor of land that he shall not be allowed to dispose of his property on the terms which he himself thinks most conducive to his own interest? No, Sir, such a law is against every principle of justice or of policy; and the usury laws, we all know, originated in times, when men legislated on principles quite different from those now acknowledged to be the surest guides of legislation; in times, when Parliament interfered in regulating every concern of life, by minute and petty legislation, descending so low in their spirit of interference, as to fix the amount

of the wages of labour. Sir, I believe that it is now admitted, this minute legislation is not only unnecessary, but injurious, and that the sound principle of making laws is, to leave the people, as much as possible, to manage and regulate their own individual interests. Then, as to the argument, that a man may sell his property for what he pleases, but cannot lend or borrow money unless at a legal rate. Sir, the proposition is unworthy of a moment's notice, and is worthy, only of those antiquated statutes that have long since been proved inoperative in practice and unjust in principle. If we are not disposed to regulate by law, the amount at which a man may sell his property, or rent his land, or hire his labour, on what principle is it that we can presume to fix the price at which one man shall lend money to another?

Sir, these restrictions are most injurious to commercial transactions when they are called into operation, though they prove generally inoperative, since it has been admitted, even by the opponents of the Bill, that men will regulate their business according to their opinion of what is most beneficial to their own interests. As to the argument derived from the supposition, that, in case of the repeal of these laws, the small proprietors of land would be exposed to exorbitant exactions of interest, they not knowing what may be the market-rate of interest of the day—this idea, also, is scarcely worth attention; but even in the case of such proprietors, I am of opinion that the existing laws have, in their operation, done them injury, on account of the very limited value of the lands on which such proprietors may be obliged to borrow money. It has been said, that the repeal of the laws will injure the landed interest in general; I think not; just

look at the state of things under the laws, and next, the nature of the change: do the usury-laws prevent the landowner from giving more than five per cent interest on borrowed money, now that the legal rate is fixed at that sum? No; but by indirectly evading the law, the landlord proprietor pays, through annuities, much more than the law allows. But suppose the value of money to rise higher, as it did during the war, and that the usual rate of lending is at six or seven per cent. Then no monied man would sink his money on mortgages, but rather invest it in the public funds; and this same fact would make him withdraw his capital from land, from which he could only raise five per cent, to invest it in the funds where he may raise more.

House of Commons. June 19, 1828.

The Catholic Association: Arguments against its Suppression.

I confess that it would be much more agreeable to me if the great measure of Catholic Emancipation were coupled with this measure to put down the Catholic Association. I could have wished that that measure, which ought to be a measure of grace and favour, and which, I trust, will be so considered, had not been coupled with any measure of coercion. I think that it would have been more manly, more generous, and more wise for Parliament not to have accompanied so glorious a measure with any act to put down the Catholic Association. I could have wished that Association to have been suffered to die the death which will naturally befall it after the concession of Catholic

Emancipation. The existence of that Association depends on the existence of a national grievance ; and from the moment in which that grievance is redressed, it will wither upon its stalk, and will not require the hands of the Legislature to cut it down.

My first objection to the present measure is, that it is unnecessary, considering the course which we are now going to pursue ; and my next objection is, that if we do not follow that course, it is perfectly ineffectual, for there is not an Act of Parliament, consistent with the spirit of the English Constitution, which can put down the Catholic Association, except Emancipation. Put down the Catholic Association ! you may as well talk of putting down the winds of heaven, or chaining the ceaseless tides of the ocean. The Catholic Association has been spoken of to-night as it were a corporal being, capable of being grasped by the arm of the law. This is folly ; for the Catholic Association is the people of Ireland. Its spirit is caused by the grievance of the nation, and its seat is the bosom of seven millions of its population. It is therefore idle to talk of putting down the Catholic Association, except by removing the causes to which the Catholic Association owes its existence. But as I am well aware that the opinions of many persons are to be consulted on this question, I am willing, if the granting of this Bill is likely to make them converts to the cause of liberality, to make a temporary sacrifice of principle for so material an advantage. I must, however, repeat again, that I do not like the grant of such a boon as Catholic Emancipation to be accompanied by such an ungracious measure as the present. We have often heard of the policy of providing a

bridge of gold for our enemies ; but, in this case, we are providing a bridge of iron for our friends. I could wish it to have been otherwise, but as that cannot be, I will assist in establishing the bridge of iron, rather than go without a bridge at all.

Debate on Suppression of the Catholic Association.
February 10, 1829.

Approval of Catholic Emancipation.

I cannot sit down without expressing the satisfaction which I feel, in common with the nation at large, at the determination which the Government has at last adopted to give peace to Ireland. It will open a career of happiness to Ireland, which for centuries she has been forbidden to taste, and to England a prospect of commercial prosperity, and national strength, which has hitherto been a stranger to its annals. The labours of the present session will link together two classes of the community, which have too long been dissevered ; they will form in history the true mark which is to divide the shadow of morning twilight from the brilliant effulgence of the risen sun. They will form a monument—not of the crime or ambition of man—not of the misfortunes, or the convulsions of society, but of the calm and deliberate operation of benevolent wisdom watching for the good of the human race ; and we ought to be proud that our hands are to be employed in a measure which will pass down to the latest posterity as an object of their respect, gratitude, and veneration.

Ibid.

Mr. Peel's consistency vindicated.

My right honourable friend, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, has been taunted with the inconsistency which appears between his past and his present conduct. As to the taunts which have been cast upon him by a party, which is not only stung by disappointment that this measure is granted, but which is also stung by disappointment that he will not lend himself to the furtherance of their purposes, I trust that my right honourable friend will treat it with the disdain it merits. Gentlemen may say no, but I say yes. What I have said, I have said upon deliberation. I say that there is a party in the country, if not in this House, which is stung with disappointment, that my right honourable friend, instead of lending himself to the furtherance of their purposes, has lent himself to the great purpose of pacifying contending factions. I think that my right honourable friend has acted in a direct, manly, and honourable manner. When once he came to a conviction that the dangers of further resistance were greater than those contingent on the settlement of this question, he pursued a manly course in recommending to Parliament to settle it; and I am of opinion, that when my right honourable friend, at the close of his valuable life, shall review the great benefits which it has been his good fortune to confer upon his country, he will fix upon his conduct on this question as the greatest and most glorious portion of his career.

It would be, Sir, perhaps unbecoming were I, on the

present occasion, to mix up party feelings in exultation at the progress of this question; but I must be permitted to say, that those who have laboured for a long course of years in forwarding this great cause, who have fearlessly encountered public obloquy, and incurred private inconvenience, who have often risked the favour of their constituents, whose confidence they valued as their highest possession—to them, surely, it must be matter of just exultation to find that, at this hour, their opinions are admitted to have been sound and just, and their constancy in maintaining them honest and praiseworthy. Whatever obloquy or privation such men have endured, they will, at least, feel that the anxious hours they have devoted to the support of the claims of their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, have been the best spent in their lives; and their exertions in that great cause, the best account they will have to render of the manner in which they have employed the brilliant faculties conferred upon them by Providence for the good of their country.

To make it a reproach, then, to public men, that they have changed opinions on such a subject, and that, too, in a popular assembly, is indeed very strange to me. In the name of common sense, I ask, for what purpose does this House sit? Of what use is it, that great men appear among us, to pour forth those rich stores from the fountains of their illumination—to unlock their mighty minds, and develop the treasures of their genius? Of what use, I say, are these rich and splendid exhibitions of human talent, save to open our minds to true conclusions, and amid contending and conflicting opinions, to enable us to convince each other of what is right?

At least, among the charges brought against the Government, it cannot be fairly said, that they have yielded precipitately—that they have taken up this subject as a Parliamentary measure, before a grave and serious necessity has compelled them. And, in their justification, if they need any, I will say, without the least fear of contradiction from any man acquainted with the events of the last six months in Ireland, that that country was, from day to day, on the verge of civil war, which nothing, in fact, could have prevented, but the immediate presence of a large regular army; and that even that would not have done, were it not for the co-operation and aid of the wisdom and temperance of the noble Marquess, who was lately at the head of the Irish Government. When the whole country was precipitating itself into the gulf of civil commotion—when the population of Ireland was divided into two exasperated parties—there being from one end to the other not one spot of neutral ground—when the links of society were broken asunder, and when a chance spark might have burst into a general and all-consuming conflagration—when these unerring symptoms became too palpable to be mistaken, was it, I ask, extraordinary to see the Government abandon long-indulged opinions, from a conviction that the danger could no longer be averted, and that the day had at length arrived when they were bound to call upon Parliament to grant peace to the empire, by the settlement of this great national question?

Debate on Suppression of the Catholic Association.
February 10, 1829.

The events of 1688 teach Tolerance, not Intolerance.

Sir, I reverence, as much as any one can do, the memory of those great men who effected the Revolution of 1688, and who rescued themselves and us from the thralldom of religious intolerance, and the tyranny of arbitrary power; but I think we are not rendering an appropriate homage to them, when we practice that very intolerance which they successfully resisted, and when we withhold from our fellow-subjects the blessings of that Constitution, which they established with so much courage and wisdom. I read a far different lesson from the history of those times, and I find in it a salutary warning of the miseries that await that nation, which permits religious opinions to become the watchword of party strife, and profanes the sacred word of salvation and of peace, by converting it into the element of political contention.

Second Reading of Emancipation Bill. March 18, 1829.

William the Third a "Great Religious Radical."

The honourable member for Corfe Castle, however, read us extracts from the declaration, to which the name of the Prince of Orange was attached, on the 10th October, 1688, in order to show that the meaning and intention of those upon whose advice the Prince of Orange was then acting, was to establish the Constitution upon the basis of disability and exclusion. I do not pretend to say that much of that declaration is not levelled at the appointment of Papists to places of trust and authority, in

violation of the then existing laws ; but I say that he very much misreads that declaration, and takes a very narrow and imperfect view of the great objects towards which it was directed, who fancies that the main grievance of which it complained was the admission of Catholics to power, and that the remedy which it professed to seek consisted simply in their exclusion. Whoever will read that declaration with attention, will see that it arises out of much larger and more comprehensive views, and deals with much graver and more important matters ; that it is directed against the attempts which were making to subvert the laws and establish arbitrary power ; and that it touches upon the illegal appointment of Papists, not so much as substantive evils in themselves, but rather as being indications of deeper designs, and steps towards their accomplishment.

What are, then, the great grievances which that declaration sets forth ? Why, first, “ the assumption of a power on the part of the Crown to dispense with the laws of the land ; ” secondly, “ the subjecting of the lives, liberties, honours, and estates of men of what rank or dignity soever they may be, to arbitrary and despotic power ; ” and thirdly, “ the practice which had been resorted to, of governing without a Parliament.” What are the circumstances which are set forth as proofs of these abuses ? Why, instances in which the laws against treason and felony had been dispensed with by the royal authority ; cases, in which a great deal of blood has been shed, in many places in the kingdom, by judges governed by the evil counsellors of the King, against all rules and forms of law ; and further, the declaration which had been made by the King in Scot-

land, that he was clothed with absolute power, and that all his subjects were bound to obey him without reserve ; “ from all which,” the Prince of Orange goes on to say, “ it is apparent what is to be looked for in England, as soon as matters are duly prepared for it.” The declaration mentions, by the bye, certain evil counsellors of the King ; and in order to let us know who those evil counsellors were, it states them to be persons who “ procured Parliament to be dissolved, when they found that they could not prevail with the members to comply with their designs.” Well, Sir, these being the grievances and abuses of which the Prince of Orange complains, what are the remedies which he proposes to apply ? Why, to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled. I presume that the most zealous advocate of the present day for parliamentary reform or parliamentary dissolution, will not contend that this, at least, was not a free and lawful Parliament. For what purpose was this Parliament to be assembled ? “ In order that the two Houses may concur in the preparing of such laws as they, upon free and full debate, shall judge necessary ;” and what are the objects pointed out for this proposed legislation ? Why, first, “ the establishing a good agreement between the Church of England and all Protestant Dissenters.”

Sir, it was not till the last session of Parliament, nearly a century and a half after the date of this declaration, that this wise and enlightened recommendation of the Prince of Orange has at last been happily accomplished. But the second object of legislation pointed out was “ the covering and securing of all such as would live peaceably under the Government, as becomes good subjects, from all persecu-

tion upon the account of their religion, even Papists themselves not excepted ;” and, as if to make it impossible for any man to mistake what were the real objects which brought the Prince of Orange to this country, the Declaration goes on to say, “ We have nothing before our eyes in this our undertaking, but, first, the preservation of the Protestant religion.” We, too, Sir, who support this Bill are firmly convinced that this measure will tend most effectually to the preservation of the Protestant religion ; secondly, “ the covering of all men from persecution for their consciences ; and thirdly, the security to the whole nation the free enjoyment of their laws, rights, and liberties, under a just and legal Government.” These were the sentiments of that great religious radical, King William. This was the foundation on which he intended to raise a goodly fabric of charity, of concord, and of peace, and upon which his admirers of the present day are endeavouring to build the dungeon of their Protestant Constitution. If the views and intentions of King William had been such as are now imputed to him, instead of blessing his arrival as an epoch of glory and happiness to England, we should have had reason to curse the hour when first he printed his footstep on our strand. But he came not here a bigoted polemic, with religious tracts in one hand, and civil persecution in the other ; he came to regenerate and avenge the prostrate and insulted liberties of England ; he came with peace and toleration on his lips, and with civil and religious liberty in his heart. So much, Sir, for the principles of the Revolution, and the meaning and intentions of those who brought it about.

House of Commons. March 18, 1829.

No fear of Catholic Ascendancy in Parliament.

We have the bitterest civil discord raging throughout Ireland, from one end of the island to the other, absorbing every nobler passion, destroying every kindly and generous feeling, degrading and brutalizing the character of the people, checking their industry, obstructing their improvement, paralyzing the national resources, and threatening the unity of the Empire; and why is it that we are called upon to endure a continuance of these evils?—Why, because the Catholics are supposed to entertain certain religious opinions, which it is said are incompatible, under a Protestant Government, with their relations as good citizens, and their duties as good subjects; and which would make their admission to Parliament and to office dangerous, if not destructive, to the State. It is said, that firm and strong as we may fancy the Constitution of the country—deeply rooted as we may suppose the Protestant faith to be, in the conviction and affections of the people—the mere presence, within these walls, of some forty or fifty Catholic gentlemen, if even so many should find their way here, might be sufficient to overthrow the fabric of the Constitution, or undermine the foundations of the Church. By what magical power a small minority is to lead captive an overwhelming majority, and compel them to sacrifice their principles and betray their faith, has not, indeed, been very distinctly explained. But it is said, that, in times of nicely-balanced political struggles, when parties run high and divisions run close, a small but compact body in this House, acting upon one common principle

—pursuing steadily one common object—and throwing their weight judiciously in, as occasions should arise,—might accomplish purposes seemingly unattainable.

So far as relates to honours and emoluments—to personal and party gains—to anything which the leader of opposition could promise, or the head of Government could bestow—this argument may have some force. But the changes which the Catholics are supposed to aim at, are changes which only could be effected by the concurrence of the whole of the Legislature; and see what various improbabilities—not to say impossibilities—must combine, before these fears could be realized. I will suppose that a Government, hard pressed to carry some measure of their own, or to resist some measure of their opponents, were to purchase the support of the Catholic band by promising to introduce some change injurious to or subversive of the Protestant religion. In the first place, the consent of the Sovereign on the throne, who, by law, is a Protestant, must be obtained; but I will suppose, for the sake of argument, that which I hold to be impossible, that an English Cabinet should agree to advise, and a Protestant King should be found to sanction; yet the very foundation of the supposed case is a weak administration, tottering in their seats, and certain of support neither in Parliament nor in the country; what then would be the effect upon such a Government, of such a proposition? Why, to give instantly to their opponents ten times the strength which their profligate bargain had purchased from the Catholics: every honest and independent Protestant would fly their standard, and their adversaries would raise round their heads a storm of public indignation, which

would sweep them from their places with ignominy and disgrace. Such apprehensions may fairly be pronounced to be groundless and chimerical.

House of Commons. March 18, 1829.

Arguments against Catholic Emancipation refuted.

The honourable baronet, the member for Kent, stated yesterday that his objections to the admission of Catholics into Parliament were founded, not upon their general conduct as subjects, but upon the incompatibility of their religious tenets with the safety of the Constitution. I presume it is not to the speculative tenets of the Catholics that he objects; that it is not because they believe in transubstantiation, and in the efficacy of the invocation of saints, that he would exclude them from these walls; it must be that, in his opinion, they hold some doctrines applicable to worldly actions and temporal affairs, which are incompatible with their duties in a Protestant country. Now, in the first place, the Catholics deny such doctrines, and I believe their denial; but if everything which has been asserted on this subject were true, still it would not alter the practical conclusion to which I should be disposed to come. If the question, indeed, were whether we should or should not have any Catholics, these arguments would be applicable and conclusive, and I should say, let Ireland be Protestant, and let us have no Catholics in any part of the empire. But that decision is beyond the reach of human control: there they are, be their religion good or bad: there they are, be their tenets wholesome or objectionable:

there they are, five or six millions of Catholics in the heart of the empire; and the only question is, what shall we do with them? Whether by kind treatment and conciliation we shall make them our friends, or by exclusion and coercion convert them into enemies? Even if their doctrines were thus objectionable, and the hold which we have over them by abstract principle, and a mere sense of duty, were but slight, the more expedient it would be, since extermination is impossible, to win them to us by kindness, and to bind their hearts to ours by the ties of a common interest; and, therefore, though I utterly disbelieve that the Catholics are guided by the objectionable doctrines which are imputed to them, yet, for the sake of argument, I would concede this assertion, and, upon that very basis, contend for the policy of Emancipation.

Now, what are these doctrines? The only one which is important to the present question, is that which relates to their allegiance; for I am sure the honourable baronet is much too liberal and enlightened to give countenance to the vulgar prejudice, that Catholics do not deem themselves bound to keep faith with heretics. Well, it is said that the Catholic renders to a Protestant Sovereign only a divided allegiance. Now the Catholic utterly denies this charge. Let the most zealous Protestant devise any form of words which shall, in terms the most unequivocal and explicit, adjure any division of that allegiance which a faithful subject owes to his temporal Prince, and that oath the Catholic is prepared to take in the utmost sincerity of heart; and if it is said that oaths are words, and words are empty air, he refers you to the exploits of your navy and army, and appeals to Catholic actions to satisfy Pro-

testant doubts. What more can man do? What fuller refutation can human ingenuity desire? But with what marvellous inconsistency is this objection advanced! Suppose, for argument's sake, that the allegiance of the Catholic could not be depended upon, and that he were liable to be swayed by foreign influence to betray his country and forswear his King; what is the situation in which such a man would be most dangerous? What is the last situation in which it would be wise to place him? Why, beyond a doubt, in naval and military command. But in naval and military command the law allows the Catholic to be placed; and that law is of recent enactment, and sanctioned, or, at least, unopposed by those very men who cast in the teeth of the Catholic this charge of divided allegiance. Upon what rational ground then can this charge be made an objection to his admission into Parliament? Can you trust a man to stand sentinel at the very gates of your fortress, in actual contact with the enemy, and yet distrust him in the midst of your garrison, and surrounded by your guards? A Catholic may lead the fleet of England into fight; a Catholic may command the army of his country in the day of battle. In that perilous hour, when the interests, the honour, perhaps even the safety of England, may hang upon the workings—ay, the secret workings of one single mind; when one single act treacherously done, or one single act treacherously omitted, may bring with it irretrievable disaster; in that perilous hour, we are content to commit our fortunes to the hands of the Catholic, confident in his patriotism, his honour, and his faith. But when the question is as to a seat in this House, where he is one among

a great number—where little can depend upon individuals—where every word that he utters, and everything that he does, are public as the art of man can make them, and are borne, by the next morning's dawn, upon the wings of the wind, to every corner of the empire,—here, forsooth, we tremble at the dangers that would befall the State, if this man of divided allegiance were permitted to vote in a Committee of Supply.

House of Commons. March 18, 1829.

The Subject continued.

But how idle to talk of giving the Catholics political power, as if they possessed no political power now! It is the fashion sometimes to sneer at the wisdom of our ancestors; but, as far as regards the treatment of the Catholics, our ancestors were much wiser than we are; at least, according to the more limited notions of their time. They hated and feared the Catholics, and they had, perhaps, some reason to do so; we hate and fear the Catholics, without, that I can discover, any reason at all. They wished to extirpate the Catholic religion, and they set about it in right good earnest; and if it had only happened to be consistent with the laws of human nature, that opinions and belief could be swayed and determined by the strong arm of temporal power, they would, most unquestionably, have accomplished their purpose.

They just did not make it lawful—(I am speaking now of Ireland)—they just did not make it lawful to put a Catholic, wherever found, to death. There was some

sense in this system ; it was not very amiable ; but, at least, it was consistent. They deemed the Catholic a dangerous and ferocious beast of prey ; and like a beast of prey, they hunted him out from the pale of civilization, and drove him back to his native fastnesses and wilds. We look upon the race with almost similar dread and abhorrence ; but we allow them to prowl, unmolested, about the streets of our cities and the gardens of our dwellings, and think we have sufficiently provided for our safety, if we only close against them the portals of the temple of justice. Is there any sense in this ? If the Catholic be really so dangerous and formidable, we have gone much too far ; if he be not, we have stopped too soon.

Political power indeed ! What is it that gives to any class of men in a State political power ? Why, numbers, wealth, intelligence. These are the true elements of political power ; and where these exist, whether it be in the republics of the West, or the despotisms of the East, these will be found to sway the deliberations of the people, or control the will of the monarch. But these we have granted to the Catholics. Numbers, indeed, without our permission, they have gained ; and, to their heart's content, wealth we allow them to acquire and to possess ; intelligence we are daily forcing upon them with all the zeal and activity of crusaders. And thus, while the Catholics are every year becoming more numerous, more wealthy, and more enlightened, we go on descanting upon the dangers that would befall us if the Catholics should ever acquire any share of political power. Why, those men who sway to their will five millions of dissatisfied people, who hold their

obedient passions in the leash, to restrain or let slip as best may suit their purpose and occasion ; who carry, as it were, in the folds of their garment, the dread alternative of domestic peace and war ; if such men do not possess political power, there is no meaning in words—there is no danger in things. I call upon the House to strip them of this political power, which cannot be exercised for good, which must be exerted for evil, which may destroy a State, but never can work for its salvation. Let us turn these materials of mischief into elements of strength ; let us, like skilful physicians, extract, and amalgamate the poison, and by a wise adaptation of its influence, draw from it renovated health and augmented vigour.

The population of Great Britain, by the returns of 1821, was fourteen millions ; the population of Ireland at the same period was about seven millions. The industry of the fourteen millions in Great Britain produced, for the public service, a revenue of about fifty millions sterling. The industry of the seven millions in Ireland produced, for the public service, a revenue of—what ? of twenty-five millions sterling, according to its proper proportion ? No, barely of five millions. What is the reason of this extraordinary disproportion ? Has nature been less bountiful to Ireland in her gifts ? Is the soil cursed with barrenness, or are the people incapable or unwilling to labour ? The fertility of the soil of Ireland is proverbially notorious, and the harvest fields of England afford abundant proofs of the laborious industry of the Irish people. Well then, I shall be told the reason is, that Ireland is without capital, and because Ireland is without capital, her population is without employment, and her Exchequer without revenue.

But why is Ireland without capital? And does not this single fact, that she is without capital, though under the same Sovereign as England, and within a stone's-throw of her wealthy neighbour, speak volumes, and prove more demonstrably than the ingenuity or eloquence of man, that Ireland is misgoverned?

The capital of England overflows in every direction but one. It seeks a vent in every quarter of the globe; it scales the summit of the Andes, it flies to our very Antipodes, but Ireland it dare not enter. Beyond the limits of the United Kingdom, there is no adventure so difficult and hopeless, no risk so hazardous and desperate, as to daunt the enterprise of our capitalist, and arrest the current of our wealth. But around Ireland the wand of the enchanter has drawn its forbidden circle. I call upon the House to break the spell, and let in upon Ireland the wholesome and fertilizing stream. If the country gentlemen of England wish to relieve themselves from the burdens which now press so heavily upon them, let them lend us their aid to grant peace to Ireland—let them assist us to give free and full development to its boundless natural resources—and they may be assured that there is no plan of finance, how skilful soever, that could open such golden prospects to England as Catholic Emancipation.

House of Commons. March 18, 1829.

Impossibility of maintaining the exclusion of Catholics.

While the present system of laws continues, peace is impossible in Ireland. If an ingenious tormentor of the

human race had wished to inflict upon a nation the curse of perpetual dissension, what more could he have done than establish that order of things which exists in Ireland—a people sensitive, active, intelligent, divided into two very unequal portions, separated by the soul-stirring distinction of religious opinions ; the small minority invested with civil ascendancy, and exclusive political authority ; the large majority condemned to exclusion, deprivation, and civil degradation. If the principle of perpetual motion has vainly been sought in the material world, here at least, in the moral world, we have the most perfect arrangement for producing perpetual convulsion : the degraded majority, conscious of their numerical strength, must constantly be struggling for equal participation ; the overbearing minority, sensible of their physical weakness, must perpetually be tightening the bonds which coerce and keep down their prostrate competitors. Under a pure despotism, a people may be contented, because all are slaves alike ; but those who, under a free Government, are refused equal participation, must be discontented ; everywhere they meet men of the same class, of the same rank, of the same talents, of the same attainments as themselves, enjoying privileges and advantages from which they are for ever debarred. What must be the inward feelings of such men ! and could we be surprised if we found, that while we extorted our oaths of allegiance from their lips, their vows of abjuration should stand recorded on their hearts ?

House of Commons. March 18, 1829.



Contrast between the North and South of Ireland.

If I wished to convince an impartial Englishman of the policy of abolishing these laws, I should bid him repair to the south of Ireland ; to mix with the Catholic gentry ; to converse with the Catholic peasantry ; to witness the open and undisguised discontent of the former ; to probe to the bottom the more concealed but not less deeply rankling passions of the latter ; to see what a fierce and unsocial spirit bad laws engender, and how impossible it is to degrade a people, without at the same time demoralizing them too. But if this should fail to convince him, and his judgment still hung on the balance of doubt, I should then tell him to go among the Protestants of the north. There he would see how noble and generous natures may be corrupted by the possession of undue and inordinate ascendancy ; there he would see men, naturally kind and benevolent, brought up from their earliest infancy to hate the great majority of their countrymen, with all the bitterness which neighbourhood and consanguinity infuse into quarrels ; and not satisfied with the disputes of the days in which they live, raking up the ashes of the dead for food to their angry passions ; summoning the shades of departed centuries, to give a keener venom to the contests of the present age ; and, as if the reigns of the House of Hanover were not sufficiently fruitful in causes of mutual offence, studiously keeping alive the memory of those unhappy events which afflicted their country in the days of the Stuarts. These things, indeed, afford a melancholy proof how true it is, that “the evil which men do

lives after them," and ought to be, to us, a salutary warning, how we give a permanent and enduring existence to the passions, or resentments, or alarms of the day.

House of Commons. March 18, 1829.

Other remedies (than Emancipation) for Irish evils impossible.

My right honourable friend has asked, over and over again, of those who oppose this measure, what is the remedy which they themselves propose? To this question no satisfactory answer has been given, and till last night no very distinct one, but the remedies which have been proposed, as substitutes for emancipation, are, the prevention of absenteeism, education, poor-rates, and civil war. It is, no doubt, a misfortune for Ireland, that all her landed proprietors do not reside on their estates; but if you wish to bring back the absentees, make the country habitable, and you will find them promptly return: but as long as the bonds of society are severed, while brother is armed against brother, and son against father, it is vain to expect that many will not quit a country in which it is so painful to live. If absenteeism is an evil, Catholic Emancipation is its only cure. But then, education—education, indeed, a substitute for emancipation! Why, if you wish to retain a people in a state of degradation, do not educate, but keep them in ignorance:—an ignorant people may submit with patience, but the more you enlighten them, the more impossible it becomes to withhold from them their just rights. Well, but poor-laws would be an effectual remedy. Sir, if I were not restrained by

respect for the honourable member who made the proposition, I should say, that to recommend poor-laws as a substitute for emancipation, was an insult and mockery to the people of Ireland. The measure, indeed, would be well adapted to the circumstances of the country: the lower classes in Ireland have sometimes been accused of improvidence; poor-laws are admirably calculated to inspire them with foresight!

The great evil of Ireland is, by some, thought to be a redundant population; poor-laws are an excellent expedient to check and prevent its increase! The Irish peasantry have been represented, in some quarters, as a degraded race; we know, by the experience of England, how surely a system of poor-laws raises the character, stimulates the industry, and exalts the feelings of the lower classes! We have had many committees of this House, containing some of the ablest of our members, appointed for the purpose of devising some means of relieving England from the burthen of her poor-laws. But it never, I believe, occurred to any of these persons, that two evils might be cured by one measure; and that England might be relieved, and Ireland pacified by merely transferring to Ireland the poor-laws of England.

Then we come to the last remedy—civil war. Some gentlemen say, that sooner or later we must fight for it, and the sword must decide; and that if we must fight sooner or later, we are better prepared now than we may be by-and-by, and, therefore, we had better go at it at once. The honourable member for Newark, too, drew a contrast between the course which the Government have pursued in England, and the conduct they have held to-

wards Ireland. "In England," said he, "there have been demagogues and disturbances, but the people were dispersed with bloodshed, and their leaders seized, tried, and punished ; while in Ireland the Government have connived at proceedings, which they visited with so much severity in England." The only inference, though I admit that the honourable member did not himself draw it, but the only fair inference to be drawn from this statement is, that in his opinion the proceedings which were so successful in England would be equally so in Ireland ; that we ought to have recourse to bloodshed, and that if blood were but shed in Ireland, Catholic Emancipation might be avoided.

Sir, when that honourable member shall be a little deeper read in the history of Ireland, he will find that in Ireland blood has been shed,—that in Ireland leaders have been seized,—trials have been had, and punishments have been inflicted ; he will find, indeed, almost every page of the history of Ireland darkened by bloodshed, by seizures, by trials, and by punishments ;—but what has been the effect of these measures ? They have, indeed, been successful in quelling the disturbances of the moment, but they never have gone to their cause, and have only fixed deeper the poisoned barb that rankles in the heart of Ireland. Can one believe one's ears, when one hears respectable men talk so lightly, nay, almost so wishfully, of civil war ? Do they reflect what a countless multitude of ills those three short syllables contain ? It is easy to denounce against a nation this awful doom ; but when heaven shall once have opened the windows of its wrath—when the foundations of social order shall once have been

broken up—when the deluge of civil war shall once have burst upon the land, where is the man who shall presume to set limits to its fury, or foretel the extent of its devastation?

House of Commons. March 18, 1829.

Peroration to the foregoing Speech.

It is well, indeed, for the gentlemen of England, who live secure under the protecting shadow of the law; whose slumbers have never been broken by the clashing of angry swords; whose harvests have never been trodden down by the conflict of hostile feet; it is well for them to talk of civil war, as if it were some holiday pastime, or some sport of children.

“They jest at scars, who never felt a wound.”

But that gentlemen from unfortunate and ill-starred Ireland, who have seen with their own eyes, and heard with their own ears, the miseries which civil war produces; who have known, by their own experience, the barbarism, ay, the barbarity which it engenders; that such persons should look upon civil war as anything short of the last and greatest of national calamities, is to me a matter of the deepest and most unmingled astonishment. If the nation is overflowing with so much suppressed pugnaciousness; if, like an overcharged thunder-cloud, we are bursting with accumulated fire, which a fourteen years' peace has rendered unbearably irksome,—let us vent it against any and every other nation of the earth—let us not exercise a suicidal fury on ourselves:—

..... "Omnibus hostes
Reddite nos populis, civile avertite bellum."

I will grant, if you will, that the success of such a war with Ireland would be as signal and complete as would be its injustice. I will grant, if you will, that the crimsoned banner of England would soon wave in undisputed supremacy over the smoking ashes of their towns, and the blood-stained solitude of their fields. But I tell you, that England herself never would permit the achievement of such a conquest. England would reject, with disgust, laurels that were dyed in fraternal blood. England would recoil with loathing and abhorrence from the bare contemplation of so devilish a triumph.

We are still in time to avert so afflicting a consummation, we are still in time to avert it with honour; but we are not in time any longer to delay. Events are pressing upon us with a force and rapidity which no human power can stay; while we are debating, our securities, our dangers are blackening round our heads; and we are childishly disputing about the fences of our dwelling, while the loud and unmistakable murmurings of the earth warn us of approaching convulsion.

Tell me not that this is the language of intimidation—tell me not that I am appealing to the fears, instead of the reason, of the House. In matters of such high concern, which involve, not personal and individual considerations, but the welfare of one's country, no man ought to be ashamed of being counselled by his fears. But the fears to which I appeal, are fears which even the brave may acknowledge, and which the wise need not blush to own; the fear to which I appeal, is that early and provident fear

which Mr. Burke so beautifully describes as being the mother of safety. "Early and provident fear," says he, "is the mother of safety ; for in that state of things the mind is firm and collected, and the judgment unembarrassed ; but when fear, and the thing feared, come on together, and press upon us at once, even deliberation, which at other times saves us, becomes our ruin, because it delays decision ; and when the peril is instant, decision should be instant too."

To this fear, then, I am not afraid of appealing. By this fear, legislators and statesmen ought ever to be ruled ; and he who will not listen to this fear, and refuses to be guided by its counsel, may go and break his lances against windmills ; but the Court of Chancery should enjoin him to abstain from meddling with public affairs.

House of Commons. March 18, 1829.

Disfranchisement of Forty-shilling Freeholders. Reasons for opposing it.

I thought we were told, Sir, that these measures were to be proposed in a spirit of peace ; I must, however, say that this Bill appears to me to be proposed more in the spirit of punishment than of peace. If the freeholders of Ireland had steeped themselves in corruption, like the voters of Penryn—if their delinquency had been equally notorious—it is not for me to say how Parliament might have dealt with their rights ; but these men have shown themselves to be independent and honest ; they have ventured to defy the dictates of those in power over them ; they have dared

the threat of ruin ; they have ventured boldly to treat with contempt the mandates of those landlords, on whose breath it was supposed their very existence depended. And, Sir, for that which was a noble devotion to a cause which we ourselves have now pronounced to be just, are we about to visit them with the same measure of justice, which we were about to award to those who were guilty of the most profligate abuse of their rights ?

The only intelligible reason for the Bill is, that the persons on whom it is intended to operate are Catholics, and likely to be influenced by their priests. If so, the House will be doing the very thing my right honourable friend stated he wished to avoid ; and it will not be giving an equality of political rights and an abolition of civil disabilities. It may be said, however, that the disfranchisement is not confined to the Catholics, but is extended to the Protestants. In the first place, I do not consider it any consolation to the Catholics that the skirt of the storm which swept them away passed over the Protestants. I contend that they are not placed on an equal footing with the freeholders of Great Britain, mainly because there is a difference between their religious opinions. Therefore, these measures will leave the Catholic Question behind them, and Parliament, in passing them, will be defeating its own ends. Some persons assert, that the effect of raising the franchise would be to improve the morals of the freeholders of Ireland ; but I cannot avoid distrusting that moralist who begins his system by committing a flagrant act of injustice. It is said that frauds and perjury are now daily practised ; and if they do prevail I should be happy to concur in any measure to lessen

their prevalence. Fraud and perjury are unquestionably an injury to the honest *bond fide* freeholder, but it is most unjust to make the existence of one injury the reason for inflicting another. Is it anything like justice to take this short and sweeping method of extinguishing rights, because Parliament does not choose to apply a specific remedy to a partial abuse? It is to be observed, also, that there is no charge against the honest *bond fide* freeholder, but that he has acted independently and according to the dictates of his best and surest guide—his conscience.

It has been argued that Parliament must step in to prevent landowners from cutting up their property into small freeholds. This course may be very kind, paternal, and considerate, but I think it a very unnecessary, if not an officious, interference. There is a Government in Europe, which I will not name, not supposed to be much interested in the welfare of its subjects, and where they are dealt with rather upon the principle of predestination than of free-will. I am unwilling to take a leaf out of the book of that Government, and for that reason I am desirous that the landlords of Ireland should be allowed to take care of their own interests: if they choose to be so foolish as to ruin their estates for the sake of obtaining political influence, there is no reason why Parliament ought to be called upon to interpose. But the statement on which the Bill is founded is not borne out by facts; I do not believe that landlords, generally, have divided their estates for that purpose; and it is to be recollected, that the registry of a freehold is no proof of the creation of a vote at the time of registration. The objectionable practice may have prevailed

among a few landlords, but they are exceptions, and not the rule: on the contrary—as has been well stated by my noble friend, who has shown himself so well acquainted with the situation of Ireland, where he has spent so much of his time, and has proved himself so good a landlord—the tendency of landlords is rather the other way: a system has been carried on for thinning the population—whole families have been removed from estates, without consideration of the miseries and distresses to which they were thereby exposed. It has been said, as an excuse for this Bill, that it will create for Ireland a substantial yeomanry: the gentlemen who use this argument are not able to wait for the regular progress of society towards improvement; but they must hasten the consummation by a special enactment. What is to be done? And, when it is done, what will be gained? An Irish ten-pound householder; and is he to be compared with the substantial freeholder of England, as if all this machinery would manufacture yeomanry at once? Ere long, the ten-pound franchise will be found too light; then it must be raised to twenty pounds, and when that proves insufficient, where is it to stop? I apprehend that a great mistake is prevalent in this country, as to the subdivision of property in Ireland, its causes, and consequences. I maintain, with my right honourable friend, that it does not arise from the election laws, but that it proceeds from the state of society; and the truth of this position is demonstrated by the fact, that in the lands belonging to church corporations, where no vote can by possibility be created, the holdings are as much subdivided as the estates of the most aspiring political landlords. The distribution of property must, more or

less, affect the size of the holdings: in an agricultural country, where large capitals are afloat, large farms will exist; but in a country like Ireland, the farmers are possessed of little capital; they subsist by manual labour, and it is idle to expect, by an arbitrary enactment, to accelerate the consolidation of farms.

House of Commons. March 19, 1829.

Objections to an Irish Poor Law.

I confess that my mind is not prepared to look upon the introduction of a system of poor-laws in Ireland in a favourable point of view. Nothing that has passed in the course of this debate has altered my opinion, as not any general principle on which the introduction of poor-laws there would be beneficial has been presented to my view. Indeed, some of the grounds on which the measure has been recommended, are most unsound and untenable. The honourable gentleman who introduced the motion in a speech of great ability, and which it afforded me great pleasure to hear, has considered the poor-laws as the foundation of the commercial prosperity of England. That prosperity, however, is the effect of other causes, and the absence of poor-laws in Ireland has not been, as he supposes, the cause of her inferior wealth. I will consider this question in the point of view in which he has placed it. The effect of the poor-laws is to take from a certain class of producers part of the produce of their industry, and to apply it, against their will, to the support of other persons. The consequence of this is a diminution of capital, and the only

effect of this retarded accumulation of capital is to check the career of commercial improvement. But, then, says the honourable gentleman, these laws will increase the price of labour. They will, however, have a contrary effect, for they will tend to increase the amount of the population, by giving the labourer a right to support, independent of that which he acquires by the sweat of his brow. The natural effect of this will be to relieve him from the fear of poverty. The poor-laws will increase the supply of labourers, and therefore it is demonstrable that they must tend to diminish the price of labour, instead of increasing it. It is thought that the introduction of poor-laws into Ireland would prevent the evils of an influx of labourers into this country; but, so far from this being the case, it must perpetuate the disproportion between the two countries. The honourable member speaks of the introduction of a moderated system of poor-laws. In what way he will alter the system of the poor-laws, I know not. Is it not supposed that if you establish poor-laws in Ireland, you will give a right to the able bodied men who are out of employment, to be supported in the same manner as they are in England, for such at least is what the English laws pretend to do. It is a mistake to suppose that only the old, or the infirm come from Ireland to this country. The men who come here are, by their vigour of body and mind, able to enter into a strong competition with the English labourer. If the poor-laws do not relieve such persons as are thrown out of work by this competition, they do not have the effect which they pretend to have. It is true, that in order to benefit the condition of Ireland, we must do something that will effect

a rise of wages in that country. I look for that effect from different means. I look for it from the introduction of English capital; and as the prosperity of the manufacturer and the capitalist increase in Ireland, the labourer will gain a higher reward for his labours, and the temptation to transfer himself from one country to another will gradually cease. The means for the employment of capital there already exist. There are manufactories in the north of Ireland. In Belfast there are some that have been transferred thither from this country, within these few years. If there are manufactures, poor-laws will be of less importance. Will poor-laws protect them from fluctuations?

There are men in England who say, that by reason of the poor-laws, the labouring classes do not suffer distress in the same manner that they would without these laws; but I doubt much whether all persons can say the same thing. The English system of poor-laws is beautiful in theory; but in practice it proceeds on the mistaken principle, that you can multiply capital according to the wants of those who are not employed in labour. I hope that members will not allow themselves to be led away by their feelings, instead of attending to arguments on the subject; and that they will not hastily admit a code of laws which, if they trust to as a security from the evils of a redundant population, and an absence of capital, they will find to produce nothing but disappointment, and to convert the whole country into one great poor-house.

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It is true, Sir, that the peasantry of Ireland do not enjoy

all the comforts which are enjoyed by the peasantry of England; but those who think that they are an entirely wretched race, plunged in the depths of misery and want, are greatly mistaken. I know that the cabin of the Irish labourer is not so good as that of the English labourer—its exterior is not so neat—its furniture is not so handsome. Still, however, the Irish peasant has his comforts—he is well supplied with fuel, and is seldom at a loss for food. And, as my honourable friend says, if cheerfulness of mind be the criterion of happiness, the Irish labourer will not suffer in a comparison with the labourer of England. It is said, that the Irish landlord insists on the highest possible rent that can be extorted. Why, Sir, I believe that is not a singular circumstance. I rather think that the observation may be generally applied. In Ireland, the landlord endeavours to make the most of his property; and certainly in England the landlord does the same thing. We ought to speak of Irish landlords as a body—we ought not to judge of them from a few isolated instances; and, taking them as a class, I will maintain that they are a very meritorious body of men.

House of Commons. May 7, 1829.

Portugal. Conduct of the Government of Great Britain.

The course which the British Government has held with respect to the affairs of Portugal, has excited the astonishment of Europe; and has inspired every Englishman who values his country, with deep mortification.

The civilized world rings with execrations upon Miguel; and yet this destroyer of constitutional freedom, this breaker of solemn oaths, this faithless usurper, this enslaver of his country, this trampler upon public law, this violator of private rights, this attempter of the life of helpless and defenceless women, is, in the opinion of Europe, mainly indebted for the success which has hitherto attended him, to a belief industriously propagated by his partisans, and not sufficiently refuted by any acts of the British Government, that the cabinet of England look upon his usurpation with no unfriendly eye. In the opinion of many, this impression is confirmed by much which the Government have done, and by much which they have omitted to do. On the one hand, it is said that they have shown a great alacrity to back up his measures of war by their recognitions; and, on the other, it is thought that they have displayed a very patient forbearance under indignities offered to England, in the persons of British residents in Portugal; while their steady refusal to interfere in cases, in which their interference would have been prejudicial to Dom Miguel, has been contrasted with their promptitude and vigour to interfere, when their interference was subservient to his projects. All these things, it is said, seem to show, that they look upon his conduct and political existence with very different eyes from the rest of mankind; and appear to countenance the supposition that they have attempted by negotiation to give a legitimate sanction and permanent existence to his usurpation; and have even contemplated the project of delivering up to the keeping and custody of a man, who has attempted to embrue his hands in a sister's blood—

that infant Queen—whose life is one barrier between him and the throne which he covets. For these reasons it is fitting that these matters should be inquired into ; that the truth should be known ; that if the Government have deserved the censure of Parliament, that censure may be awarded ; that if, on the contrary, they have been unjustly blamed, they and the country they govern, may at once be relieved from the odium under which we now labour.

Sir J. Mackintosh's Motion on the affairs of Portugal.

June 1, 1829.

The Doctrine of Non-interference.

The ground upon which my right honourable friend, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, has defended the doing of all that has been done, and the not doing of all that has been omitted, is the principle of non-interference ; that is to say, the principle that every nation has a right to manage its own internal affairs as it pleases, so long as it injures not its neighbours ; and that one nation has no right to control, by force of arms, the will of another nation in the choice of its government or ruler. To this principle I most cordially assent. It is sound, it ought to be sacred ; and I trust that England will never be found to set the example of its violation. But in all discussions, it is of great importance to come to a clear understanding of the precise meaning of terms used in debate ; and let us, therefore, strip the word, "interference" of an ambiguity, which tends to perplex and confuse. If by "interference," is meant interference by force of arms, such interference, the

Government are right in saying, "general principles and our own practice forbade us to exert." But if by "interference," is meant intermeddling, and intermeddling in every way, and to every extent, short of actual military force; then I must affirm, that there is nothing in such interference, which the law of nations may not in certain cases permit; and that the whole history of the connexion between England and Portugal has been almost one unbroken chain of such interference on our part; nay, more, that the complaint to which the present Government is most justly exposed, is, not that they have not interfered, but that they have interfered only on the wrong side.

House of Commons. June 1, 1829.

Importance of Portugal to England.

It has been the opinion of the ablest statesman, that it is important to the security of England, that the Tagus should be in the hands of a friendly power. It has been thought by the most competent judges, that with Gibraltar our own, and with an ally at Lisbon, we might face the combined hostility of France and Spain, should we ever be exposed to meet it; if not without effort, at least without alarm. This opinion, too, has not been confined to our ablest statesmen, it was shared by our ablest enemy—I mean Napoleon Bonaparte. It has also been the opinion of the wisest statesmen of Portugal, that the best security for Portuguese independence was to be found in the selfish interests of England; and that, as it was worth while for England, for her own sake, to make great efforts to pre-

vent Portugal from being annexed to Spain, England therefore was to be the most sincere and trusty ally, to whom, in the hour of need, Portugal could turn for assistance. These reciprocal interests engendered connexion and alliance; mutual usefulness led to good offices on one side, and to confidence on the other; treaties imposed obligations, and conferred corresponding rights; and hence it is that Portugal has always solicited and received the advice of England, as that of a friend, whose interests were identified with her own; and hence it is, also, that England has been permitted to exercise an interference, and possess an influence in the councils of Portugal, which did not naturally belong to her, as regarding an independent state. For proof of these assertions, I would refer the House to the treaties of Charles I., of Cromwell, and of Charles II.; to the war of succession; to the transactions of the eighteenth century; to the wars and treaties of the century in which we live: from all which it will be seen, that it has been the practice and conceded privilege of England, to concern herself in a peculiar manner in the affairs and destiny of Portugal. But those who contend that it is the duty, and has been the practice of England to withdraw herself entirely from all interference in the internal affairs of Portugal, and to stand aloof, a passive spectator of whatever there may happen, have they forgotten the transactions even of the last few years?

Have they forgotten our active and successful interference in 1807, to prevail upon the royal family of Portugal, to traverse the Atlantic, and transplant their royal stock to their South American dominions? Have they forgotten the spirited interference, in 1824, of our

then Ambassador, Sir Edward Thornton, against the proceedings of the Portuguese Government towards its own subjects, an interference which was attended with complete success? Have they forgotten, that by the urgent advice of that same Ambassador, the seat of the Portuguese Government was transferred to a British line-of-battle ship in the Tagus; and that on the quarter-deck of an English man-of-war, with our hardy sailors as his pages in waiting, and our menacing guns as his guard of honour, the King of Portugal received the homage of his subjects on the celebration of his birth-day; and from that self-same palace of council, issued a proclamation to his people, and gave out his decrees, banishing the Queen from the Court, depriving Dom Miguel of his command, and ordering him to absent himself from Portugal? But all this, I suppose, was no interference in the internal affairs of Portugal! Invert the case, put London for Lisbon, the Thames for the Tagus, and then let me ask you if this is interference or not? I pass by the bringing over the Constitution of 1826, from Brazil to Lisbon, by an English Ambassador, Sir Charles Stuart; because, although that circumstance was considered by many of the Portuguese, (unfortunately, as it has since turned out, by them so considered,) as an indication that the British Government had interfered, to procure for them the advantages of that Constitution; yet it is well known, as has just been stated by my right honourable friend, the member for Liverpool, that the selection of Sir Charles Stuart to bring over that Charter was the accidental choice of the Emperor Dom Pedro himself; and that the Portuguese nation were indebted for that gift, so valuable, if they had known how to prize and

preserve it, solely and entirely to the spontaneous liberality, and uncounselled wisdom of that enlightened Sovereign. But have we forgot the active and successful interference of England, to bring about a separation of the crowns of Portugal and Brazil, and to obtain the abdication of the Crown of Portugal in favour of Donna Maria; an interference founded upon a just regard to the interests of England? We should, indeed, do well if we could forget this interference, since we have been so backward to make any, the slightest, exertion to recover for Donna Maria that crown, which, in accordance with our advice, her father had placed upon her head.

House of Commons. June 1, 1829.

Conduct of Dom Miguel.

It was generally known at Lisbon, that the only event in which the British troops had orders to depart from a strict abstinence from all interference in the internal affairs of Portugal, was that of protection being required for the persons of the members of the royal family, and that this protection they were ordered to afford. This instruction, as has been already stated by my right honourable friend, the member for Liverpool, was not framed with any view to Dom Miguel, but formed a part of the instructions originally given to the general officer commanding, when the troops first embarked for Portugal; and it had reference to persons more worthy than the individual who in the end profited most by it. It is obvious that no successful resistance could be made to the steps taken by Dom Miguel to accomplish his usurpation, without im-

posing some temporary restraint upon his personal liberty ; and any such restraint, it was understood, the British troops would think it their duty to prevent. The consequence was, that so long as the British troops remained, resistance would have been unavailing, and by the time they embarked Dom Miguel had made it impossible. Miguel thus contrived to make the British troops, who had been sent out for far different purposes, the protecting shelter, under cover of which he dismissed his constitutional ministers, removed his constitutional officers, changed his constitutional magistrates, and prepared the dissolution of his constitutional Chambers ; and thus, all those means of resistance were paralyzed, which, had our troops been out of the way, the existing institutions of Portugal would infallibly have opposed to his projects. Did not all these circumstances give us a right to insist that Miguel should keep those oaths, and abide by those engagements, to which he had thus publicly, and in the face of Europe, made the King of England his witnessing sponsor ? Did not a due regard for the honour and dignity of the British Crown require that the ministers of the King should have used their best exertions to compel Dom Miguel to do so ? If he had declined to enter into any engagement ; if he had taken his stand on alleged rights ; if he had rejected our hospitality, and refused our money ; if he had fought his way into Portugal by himself, and on his own account—much as we might have condemned his after conduct, we at least should not have been implicated by any course which he might have pursued. But I say, that the conduct of Dom Miguel has been no less affronting to the King of England, than

it has been disgraceful to Dom Miguel himself. Was it fitting that the King of England should be made the stalking-horse, under whose cover this royal poacher should creep upon his unsuspecting prey? Was it becoming that the King of England should be made use of, as the attesting witness, to engagements never meant to be fulfilled, and to oaths forsworn by the heart ere yet they had found utterance from the lips? I say, that if the insulted honour of a Sovereign is a legitimate ground of national quarrel, we are entitled to demand, and to extort, reparation from Dom Miguel. What that reparation ought to be, the voice of indignant Europe has long since declared.

House of Commons. June 1, 1829.

Miguel's conquest of Madeira.

Now, Sir, a word or two about the conquest of Madeira; and I beg leave to ask, why the British Government permitted Miguel to make that conquest? I respect, as much as any man, the principles of national independence: but it is precisely because I respect this principle; because I think that one country and one people have no right to impose upon another country and another people, by force of arms, any particular ruler or form of Government; it is precisely for this very reason that I condemn the conduct of our Government in permitting Miguel to go and conquer Madeira. I deny that Miguel, by usurping the throne of Portugal, could acquire any rights over Madeira, which England, denying, as she did, his right to the throne of Portugal itself, could be

bound to acknowledge. Two wrongs cannot make a right; the wrongful usurpation of Portugal could not render rightful the subsequent conquest of Madeira; Miguel claimed to rule over Madeira because it was a dependency of Portugal; but we, who denied his right to rule over Portugal, could not admit that his unjust usurpation of the mother-country could constitute a legitimate title to the dependency. Those who deny premises cannot accede to conclusions. He had no right to talk of the integrity of the dominions of the Crown of Portugal—integrity, indeed, and Miguel! The very words refuse companionship. Who had broken the integrity of the dominions of the Crown of Portugal? Who but he, who brandishing in one hand the sword of rebellion, uplifted in the other the sceptre of usurpation; he, who himself first began to dismember Portugal—he, least and last of all mankind, could urge the plea of the undivided entirety of the dominions of the Crown of Portugal. I ask, then, was England bound by the obligations of any specific treaty, or by the general laws of nations, to stand by and see Miguel conquer Madeira? No treaty could oblige us, because treaties with Miguel, thank Heaven, as yet, we have none. Treaties with Pedro, indeed, we have; obligations of honour towards him and his daughter, have we also. But the spirit of those treaties, and the tenor of those obligations, might have led to any other course rather than that which has been pursued. The laws of nations could not bind us down to connive at this conquest, because the conquest itself was a violation of those laws; and in like manner, as in a particular community, any by-stander is at liberty to interfere to prevent

a breach of the law of that community ; so also, and upon the same principle, may any nation interpose to prevent a flagrant violation of the laws of the community of nations. The usurpation of Miguel was an outrage upon national law, whether at Lisbon, at Oporto, or at Madeira ; and every one of the subjects of that Sovereign, whose crown he had placed upon his unworthy head, was not only at full liberty, but was bound by his allegiance, to resist that usurpation to the utmost.

If the people of Lisbon had a right to choose Miguel for their king, the people of Oporto and Madeira had just as good a right to uphold the authority of Pedro or Maria. If the people of Lisbon had no right to choose Miguel for their king, still less could they have a right to impose him upon their unwilling fellow-subjects. Upon no possible principle could the people of Lisbon have a right to impose by force of arms, upon Oporto or Madeira, that Miguel, whom Lisbon perhaps had chosen, but whom Oporto and Madeira rejected. Well, then, if England was not bound by treaty, nor by international law, to stand by, and see Miguel conquer Madeira ; if England had, even by the laws of nations, a right to interfere, if she chose ; what must have been the views and policy of that Government, which could choose not to interfere ? There could have been no difficulty in protecting Madeira. United to Portugal by diplomacy, it is widely divided from it by geography ; we could have accomplished our purpose without sending even a single keel to Madeira ; by means no more hostile than words, by missiles no more deadly than a despatch. We had only to declare to Miguel, that we took Madeira under our protection, in trust for our

ally Dom Pedro or his daughter, so long, at least, as Madeira chose spontaneously to maintain its allegiance; and I think I may venture to affirm, that such a declaration from England to Miguel would have met with an acquiescence no less prompt, than that of England to his blockade of Madeira. Did we want a precedent for such a proceeding? we need not have gone far back to look for it. The usurpation of Miguel is not the first time in these our days, that the legitimate authority of the sovereign of Portugal has been forcibly suspended at Lisbon. In 1828, Miguel, if not backed and instigated by Spain, at least not disapproved by Spain, forcibly dethroned one Queen of Portugal; in 1807, another Queen of Portugal was forcibly dethroned by the arms of France, combined with the influence of Spain. What did the British Government, then? They sent an expedition to take possession of Madeira, and to hold it in trust for the lawful sovereign of Portugal. Ay, but I hear it said, those who dethroned the Queen of Portugal then, were at war with England. If those who have dethroned the Queen of Portugal now, are not at war with England, it is because England has put up with indignities from them, which she never before has brooked from any other people in the world. Perhaps it will be said, that it was France and Spain who then dethroned the Queen of Portugal, and that it is Portugal itself that has done so now. A faction, indeed, in Portugal has done so now; and such has been the manner in which our Government have managed these affairs, that if that faction shall triumph, its triumph will be the triumph of Spain; and if that faction shall be rooted out, we shall see planted in

its place the influence of liberal France. But if any man asks me, whether Miguel is the child of a faction, or the choice of a people, I refer him to the thousands, and tens of thousands, of all that is distinguished or respectable in Portugal, who are now either lurking in concealment, or wandering in exile, or languishing in crowded prisons.

House of Commons. June 1, 1829.

Greece. Policy of the Wellington Administration.

Has there been much more energy and promptitude in fulfilling our engagements to Greece, than in compelling Dom Miguel to fulfil his engagements to us? July, 1829, is coming fast upon us, and the treaty of July, 1827, is still unexecuted; but out of the delay in its execution, has arisen one of the main evils which that treaty was intended to prevent—I mean a war in the East of Europe. The Morea, indeed, has been cleared of the Turks. Sir, I am conscious that I am not strictly confining myself to the particular subject in debate; but the House will remember that this is the first, and will be the last opportunity in the present session, of touching at all upon our foreign relations; that during the last twelve months, transactions of no great importance have occupied the attention of Europe, and that the seven or eight months that will probably pass away before Parliament again assembles, are pregnant with events, of which no man can foresee the issue, or foretell the consequences; and I trust, therefore, that I may experience for a few moments the indulgence of the House. The Morea, I say, has indeed been cleared:

I wish the arms of England had had a more direct and prominent share in that honourable exploit. But why were the arms of France checked at the Isthmus of Corinth? Was it that France herself shrunk back with alarm at the consequences of a further advance? or was it that the narrow policy of England stepped in, and arrested her progress? Why did France go to Greece at all, unless it was to obtain by force what Turkey would not yield by persuasion; namely, the evacuation of that territory which is destined for liberated Greece? and if that was her purpose, why did she stop short, before that purpose was fully accomplished? Shall I be told that this purpose is accomplished, that the Morea and the Cyclades are to be this liberated Greece, and that the Isthmus of Corinth is its northern boundary? I say that will not be, that cannot be, it is impossible that it should be; a larger and wider limit, extending at least to the line drawn from Volo to Arta, is indispensably necessary for Greece; it is indispensably necessary, for reasons, which I shall not now go into, but reasons, political, commercial, and military. Every man who has any local knowledge of the country, and whose judgment is worth having, agrees now, I believe, about this; be he English, or French, or Russian, or Greek; be he naval, or military, or diplomatic; and even those who were the greatest sticklers for the Morea simply, must now abandon the notion of establishing a Greece, which should contain neither Athens, nor Thebes, nor Marathon, nor Salamis, nor Plataea, nor Thermopylae, nor Missolonghi; which should exclude from its boundaries all the most inspiring records of national achievements, whether in ancient or in modern times. But in this, as in

clearing the Morea, France will hold the first, and England the second place; the merit of giving this extended limit will, in public opinion, be ascribed to the enlightened liberality of France; France will have the credit of being supposed to have dragged England reluctantly after her; England will bear the odium of having vainly attempted to clog the progress of France. But why do not the allies deal with the country north of the Isthmus, as they have done with that to the south, and occupy at once all that which must be assigned to Greece? I have seen that it has been said elsewhere, that the allies are negotiating upon this subject with Turkey; I should have thought that the allies had had enough of negotiating with Turkey about Greece; and that they had by this time discovered, that even Turkey herself would rather that on this subject they should dictate.

Why, then, do they compel the unfortunate Greeks to go toiling on, recovering step by step that territory which must be theirs, and thus force them to keep up that very state of hostility, which it was one of the first intentions of the treaty to put an end to? The very first object of the treaty was armistice; that armistice the allies have enforced in the Morea, in the only manner in which it could be brought about; why do they not establish it in the same way up to Volo and Arta? What form of government the allies mean to propose for Greece I do not ask; it would be improper to do so; but I must express my hope that the form to be adopted will be such, that while it provides for its own stability, it will give free political development to the intellectual faculties of the people; it is, indeed, to be presumed that an alliance,

in which two powers out of the three are themselves striking examples of the advantages of popular institutions, will take care to secure to liberated Greece the personal enjoyment of similar blessings. In short, I hope the constitution will be of London and Paris manufacture, and not the production of any artist in a capital nearer to Greece.

House of Commons. June 1, 1829.

General objections to the foreign policy of the Wellington Government.

From what I have said, it will be seen that I do not place implicit confidence in the foreign policy of the Government; my views of men and things differ so much from those of persons who are supposed to have great influence with them, that it is impossible I should. There are two great parties in Europe; one which endeavours to bear sway by the force of public opinion—another which endeavours to bear sway by the force of physical control: and the judgment, almost unanimous, of Europe assigns the latter as the present connection of England. The principle on which the system of this party is founded is, in my view, fundamentally erroneous. There is in nature no moving power but mind; all else is passive and inert: in human affairs, this power is opinion; in political affairs, it is public opinion; and he who can grasp the power, with it will subdue the fleshly arm of physical strength, and compel it to work out his purpose. Look at one of those floating fortresses, which bear to the farthest regions of the globe the prowess and the glory of

England ; see a puny insect at the helm, commanding the winds of heaven; and the waves of the ocean, and enslaving even the laws of nature, as if, instead of being ordained to hold the universe together, they had only been established for his particular occasion. And yet the merest breath of those winds which he has yoked to his service, the merest drop of that fathomless abyss which he has made into his foot-stool, would, if ignorantly encountered, be more than enough for his destruction ; but the powers of his mind have triumphed over the forces of things, and the subjugated elements are become his obedient vassals. And so also is it with the political affairs of empires ; and those statesmen who know how to avail themselves of the passions, and the interests, and the opinions of mankind, are able to gain an ascendancy, and to exercise a sway over human affairs, far out of all proportion greater than belong to the power and resources of the State over which they preside ; while those, on the other hand, who seek to check improvement, to cherish abuses, to crush opinions, and to prohibit the human race from thinking, whatever may be the apparent power which they wield, will find their weapon snap short in their hand, when most they need its protection.

In the first of these conditions stood England two years ago ; when our political influence among the nations of the earth was infinitely greater, not than our means of defending our independence or asserting our honour, but infinitely greater than any power we possess of controlling the conduct of others. In the second of these conditions stands Austria now, who, by the narrowness of her views, and the unfortunate prejudices of her policy, has almost

reduced herself, in point of influence, to the level of a second-rate power, notwithstanding her vast dominions, her ample resources, her warlike population, and her central position in Europe. Such England was; such Austria is: what England is now, Parliament has no means of knowing, except from vague and uncertain report. I trust that when the time shall come that the lips of the Government shall be unsealed, we shall find that we have maintained our former dignity, and have not lost caste in Europe. But it is impossible for any man, of late, to have set foot beyond the shores of these islands, without observing with deep mortification a great and sudden change in the manner in which England is spoken of abroad; without finding, that instead of being looked up to as the patron, no less than the model, of constitutional freedom, as the refuge from persecution, and the shield against oppression, her name is coupled by every tongue on the continent with everything that is hostile to improvement, and friendly to despotism, from the banks of the Tagus to the shores of the Bosphorus; and that she is represented as the key-stone of that arch, of which Miguel, and Spain, and Austria, and Mahmoud, are the component parts.

Time was, and that but lately, when England was regarded by Europe as the friend of liberty and civilization, and therefore of happiness and prosperity, in every land; because it was thought that her rulers had the wisdom to discover, that the selfish interests and political influence of England were best promoted by the extension of liberty and civilization. Now, on the contrary, the prevailing opinion is, that England thinks her advantage to lie in withholding from other countries that constitutional liberty

which she herself enjoys. Not that they fancy that the rulers of England can be insensible to the blessings and the energy which spring from those popular institutions which they themselves are daily administering: if any man were to say so, he would not be credited; but they think that because our Government know the full value of these advantages, therefore, from political jealousy, they seek to retain the monopoly for England. It is thus that they imagine that the atrocities of Miguel, in Portugal, are redeemed in our eyes by his merit in destroying the Constitution. It is thus that they suppose we are making Austria our instrument, while she fancies us her tool; it is thus that they see in the delay in executing the treaty of July, not so much fear of Turkish resistance, as invincible repugnance to Grecian freedom. I trust that when the time shall come, when the Government shall feel itself at liberty to lay before Parliament the whole course of its negotiations, and to explain the tone, and the spirit, and the objects of its communications with foreign powers, all these unfavourable impressions will be dispelled; and I rejoice that, through the present motion, such a development may be afforded, at least in the case of Portugal.

House of Commons. June 11, 1829.

Commercial England in 1830.—The Currency.

Sir, I do not look with despondency on the situation of the country; for, when ten millions of active and industrious men, enjoying the blessings of such a constitution as we possess, placed on a fine and fertile soil, and

having the power to avail themselves of all its local advantages for commerce, I think it is impossible but that, ultimately, the condition of the country must be ameliorated and improved. My opinion is, that the existing distress has arisen, in a great degree, from the measures taken for the adjustment of the currency ; and I conceive, that any member who voted for those measures, without reflecting on the consideration of the pressure which they would produce, voted, not understanding the principles on which Parliament returned to a metallic standard for the currency, followed, as that return necessarily was, by a certain contraction of the circulation. While transactions of business were taking place, and bargains of trade making, those who bought or paid at the new standard, while others had been selling at another standard, were exposing themselves to a considerable loss. This, Sir, in many instances, produced a great pressure, which absorbed the profits of the transaction altogether by the change thus created. But if the House will contrast the pressure now existing with that period of distress, ruin and bankruptcy, which occurred at the moment of the panic, when desolation was spread over the country, we shall see that a temporary pressure like the present was better than an unsound currency, and that its evils were lighter than those of the other system, which, from time to time, did infinite mischief, in consequence of the alterations to which it gave rise.

Sir, we were, when the change was made, in the condition of a patient labouring under a very severe disorder, without any chance of cure, except by undergoing a difficult operation ; and who if he had not the spirit to bear

that operation, would suffer much more pain than would be occasioned by the endurance of the disorder itself. For my own part, Sir, I think that there was no salvation for the country, but a permanent and unchangeable standard of currency; and I believe, most firmly, that there was no mode of establishing it except by proceeding as the Government did proceed. I therefore concur with great satisfaction, in that part of His Majesty's speech, which calls on Parliament to adhere to the measures which they have adopted with regard to the currency.

The best way of giving relief to the country, would be to open the channels for the employment of our native industry. At the same time, let the shackle be removed from trade; let us give a spur to enterprise, and aid the capitalist; by pursuing this course, we shall bring more shoulders to bear the weight of the public burdens, and the general state of the country will be improved.

Debate on the Address. February 5, 1830.

Our share in the Quarrel between Russia and Turkey.

Sir, I object to the policy of making the integrity of the Turkish dominions in Europe an object essentially necessary to the interests of Christian and civilized Europe. I do not wish to see Turkey garrisoned by Russians, nor the Russian frontier extended in that line.

Indeed, such an extension would not be for the interest of Russia herself, and I am sure that it would not be for the interest of the rest of Europe.

But I ask, was there no alternative between putting

Russia into possession of Turkey, and the cessation of the existence of Turkey as an European power? I must conclude, Sir, from what has occurred, that the Russian war has not ended satisfactorily to our Government.

We had two courses to pursue; one was evidently out of the question; but, if we had not assisted Turkey openly, we might, by inducing her to make timely concessions to just demands, have prevented the occurrence of war. Sir, I am decidedly of opinion that Government should have used all means to induce Turkey to avoid a contest which must finally end in her humiliation.

Debate on the Address. February 5, 1830.

The only basis for the Independence of Greece.

It is, Sir, most important to Great Britain, in the settlement of Greece, that the new State should be decidedly able to maintain itself; and that it should not, by a crooked course of policy, be driven into the arms of that power, which, since the termination of the war with Turkey, might turn her ambitious views towards that quarter.

It is, Sir, the interest of Great Britain to give Greece the means of keeping up her establishments, and to prevent her from becoming the victim of military coercion.

In settling the limits of that State, it is a matter of little importance to Turkey, in her present condition, whether this or that island or valley be taken from her, and assigned to Greece.

But it is of importance to Europe that the new State

should be capable of maintaining itself in an independent situation, as it would otherwise exist under the dread, daily and hourly, of attacks from Candia, and other islands left to the Turks, considering the spirit which the termination of the war must have infused into them.

The character of the Greek power should be not merely sufficient to realize a revenue, but to protect its territories from the reaction of Turkish hostility.

Debate on the Address. February 5, 1830.

Reasons why this country should not recognise Dom Miguel.

Sir, I am now desirous to advert to that part of the speech in which His Majesty announces his anxious wish to recognize the present usurpation of Dom Miguel. Sir, I do not here mean to discuss the propriety of not recognizing a Sovereign *de facto*, merely because he has not mounted the throne legitimately. We have nothing to do with that question. This is a different case, and one which affects deeply the honour of this country. The circumstances connected with it must be fresh in the minds of the members of this House; and, when the question of the recognition, to which I allude, comes to be considered, I certainly shall resist it, unless it can be clearly shown that the act does not affect the honour of the country. Dom Miguel cannot, Sir, be viewed as an undisputed Sovereign, exercising his sway quietly, and without opposition. If he had returned the sword which he had been using against his people, to the scabbard—if he had opened the dun-

geons where he has confined thousands of persons who became obnoxious to his fears and suspicions—if he had been the undoubted and unmolested sovereign of Portugal, there then would have been reasons for recognizing him. But, Sir, let it be recollected that the differences of the Princes of the House of Braganza, with respect to the succession, have not been settled—let it be recollected that a war is going on in the dominions of Portugal itself—let it be recollected that there is a military government in the Island of Terceira (an integral part of the Portuguese territory), in favour of the Queen Donna Maria, whom our Government has recognised as the rightful Queen—let these circumstances be borne in mind, and Dom Miguel cannot be viewed in the light of an undisputed Sovereign.

This question must come under the consideration of the House ; and, therefore, I shall merely express my hope that the Government will pause long and well, before they take a step which cannot be retracted,

Ministers will take care, I hope, how they involve the fate of so many persons, who have been led into jeopardy by the course of the foreign policy we have followed.

Debate on the Address. February 5, 1830.

If Non-intervention is resorted to, it should be impartial between States.

There is one subject, Sir, which is not fit for discussion this evening ; but as I shall not advert to it on any other occasion, I will say a few words relative to it now. I

mean the recent invasion of the territory of Mexico by the Spanish expedition from Cuba. This expedition sailed lately, but it was several years in a course of preparation. The Government of Mexico, knowing that prevention was easier than cure, determined to frustrate the plans of their enemies by a descent on Cuba, but England would not allow that island to be attacked. If, then, on the one hand England, at the instance of the ambassador of Spain prevented the Mexicans from invading Cuba, she ought to have dealt out an equal measure of justice to the other party. England ought to have said, "You, Mexico, shall not attack Cuba; and you, Spain, shall not attack Mexico." But the alleged proceeding of this Government was partial, and contrary to the principle on which they had promised to act. I say, Sir, if it be so—if Mexico, by the interference of England between Spain and her colonies, was prevented from taking a step to keep off an evil that was coming on her people—it was a most unfair proceeding. Government ought never to have begun on the principle of non-interference, or they should carry it fairly and impartially through.

When they said to Mexico, "you shall not attack Cuba," they should also have said to Spain, "you shall not attack Mexico," else it was a gross act of partiality between two contending parties, and a direct violation of the system of neutrality on which our Government professed to act. This transaction happened when many of the present members of Government were also in the Cabinet; and I now call on Ministers to explain the

transaction, in justification of the equal neutrality from which, in Parliament, they had argued they were so much afraid to depart.

Debate on the Address. February 5, 1830.

England as mediator between Russia and Turkey.

As to what was the origin of the war between Russia and Turkey, and whether the latter was instigated to plunge into it, I will not now inquire. It is perfectly true that the war arose out of aggressions made by Turkey on the commerce and rights of Russia, and violations of treaty already alluded to, and that the subsequent Hatti Scheriff was issued before the present Government came into power. Upon all that, therefore, I have no fault to find with them; but the point upon which, when the papers are produced, I shall be glad to see them able entirely to acquit themselves, is, whether the progress, duration and consequent result of that war, were in any degree affected by their failing to make to Turkey those urgent representations to agree to terms of peace, which it was the duty as well as interest of England to have made. I, for one, shall not be satisfied with seeing a number of despatches from the Government of England, which will no doubt read well and smooth enough, urging, in general terms, the propriety of conciliating Russia, but accompanied, perhaps, by strong expressions of the regard which England bore to Turkey, which, when read by an interested party, might easily appear to mean more than was really intended.

I wish, I say, that it may be shown that England spoke plainly, honestly and straightforwardly. I should like to see, that, whilst England adopted a firm resolution—almost the only course she could adopt—upon no consideration, and in no event to take part with Turkey in that war; that that decision was fairly and frankly communicated to the Turk, and that he was made acquainted from the beginning, that he was in no possible contingency to look to England for assistance.

Debate on the settlement of Greece. February 16,
1830.

No Man can Profit by his own Wrong.

It is a principle of law, that no man shall profit by his own wrong—it is a maxim of justice, that the infliction of one injury shall not stand good as a reason for the infliction of further and deep injuries.

Ibid.

England no Mediator between Russia and Turkey.

On one point I shall be glad to see His Majesty's ministers acquit themselves, namely, with respect to the influence which their conduct has had upon the progress, duration and termination of this war; and the degree in which their conduct may have affected the course adopted by the Turks, in rejecting those terms of peace which it was the duty, as it was the interest of England, to promote. When the papers come to be laid upon the table of the House, many of the despatches will prove

abundantly plausible; but no despatch, however smoothly it may read; will, by the mere force of its diction, or the plausibility of its statements, convince me that England has done all that she might have done for the purpose of putting an end to the war. It is my earnest wish to see England, on all such occasions, speak a straightforward language; but on this point, I cannot help apprehending that had she taken the honourable and upright course, hostilities would not have been continued to so recent a period.

Debate on the settlement of Greece. February 16,
1830.

The Greek Constitution.

Sir, I join with my noble friend (Lord John Russell) and the right honourable gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. Peel), in their expressions of satisfaction at the freedom which my right honourable friend has announced that Greece will enjoy. It must be gratifying to every person who knows, from his own experience, what are the blessings and advantages of a free constitution, to hear such an announcement, and still more gratifying to our national feelings and honour, that the state which is about to be called into life, under the protection of the English wing, is not doomed, from the hour of its birth, to the fetters and shackles of despotism.

That, Sir, is a part of the arrangement which has my unqualified and sincere praise.

Ibid.

Greece to be independent, must be made territorially strong.

With respect to the territorial limits of the new State, it appears to me essential to the honour and interests of England that Greece should have such a territory assigned to it as will enable it to maintain its independence, and provide for its military defence. I can conceive persons being of opinion that it was unwise in England to become a party to the treaty of the 6th of July: that is certainly not my opinion, which is the very reverse; but I cannot conceive that any man, now that we are embarked in this cause, should not think that the faith and honour of the country are concerned in seeing the treaty fulfilled to the full accomplishment of the purposes originally contemplated.

That such is our interest must be apparent; for if the new state has not a sufficient extent of territory to enable it to defend itself, what must be the eventual consequences? It is clear that she must look to other powers for that protection which she cannot afford herself. I may be told that the three powers who have united to create this state will guarantee its security; but knowing, as we do, the changes which take place in the relations of powers, and the alterations of their interests, although that may be a good security for the present, can we say that it will be a lasting one? If she be not able to defend herself, a door will be opened for the admission of foreign influence; and I maintain that it is not for the interest of England, as bearing upon transactions in the

Mediterranean, that the new state should be made the arena in which different foreign influences may contend and struggle for mastery.

Debate on the settlement of Greece. February 16,
1830.

The Country bound to protect the Candians.

I may be told, Sir, that the Allies will undertake to procure an amnesty to the inhabitants ; but we know well, Sir, what is the meaning of the word “amnesty,” when translated into the languages of Portugal, Spain and Turkey. The Turks, who know themselves pretty well, have a proverb which says, that there are three merciless things—time, fire, and the Sultan ; and if that proverb was founded in truth, I will appeal to the fate of the Greeks, and the history of the Janissaries, whether it is now less true than heretofore. Upon common principles of humanity, but more especially as we excited the war in Candia, we are bound to protect the Candians, and there is no mode of doing so except by making them a part of the Greek state. But supposing that an amnesty is granted, who is to guarantee its being observed ? It will be an amnesty for disturbances previous to this time. Now, is it likely that a population of Greek slaves, within a few hours’ sail of the land of Greek freedom, contrasting their wretched and miserable existence with all the prosperity and happiness which, we trust, is in reserve for the new state, is it likely that a population so situated, will peacefully submit to the tyranny of their former masters ? Besides, if they are inclined to be peaceful, may not the

Turks excite them to fresh disturbances, which, not coming within the terms of the amnesty, would expose the Candians to the accumulated vengeance of their masters—a vengeance more bitter, perhaps, from having been so long suppressed? Or will it be proposed to have an agent to watch over the treatment of the people, and keep a sort of police to interfere between the Turks and the Greeks? Any assurance that Turkey can give would soon become a dead letter, and the people be left exposed to every possible infliction from the Turks. Then, Sir, I say that we are bound to prevent the possibility of such a thing; and what I heard stated a few days ago, seems to me to leave us no option. I heard it asserted, Sir, unless my ears deceived me, by a member of the English Government, I will not say where, but many heard it besides myself, that the present disturbances in Candia were entirely owing to the interference of England and her Allies. If this be true, and this arrangement be completed, without a distinct provision to protect the Candians from the vengeance of Turkey, we shall cover ourselves with disgrace and infamy of the deepest dye.

I believe that assertion was a mistaken one; but I take it as it was stated, and will close with the question upon it, and ask, if we excited the people to revolt, are we not bound to protect them?

Debate on the settlement of Greece. February 16,
1830.

Retorts an attack on him by Mr. Peel.

Sir, I can assure the House, that nothing that has fallen from my right honourable friend (Mr. Peel) shall tempt

me to deviate from that temper which I believe is always the best indication of the consciousness of a good argument. My right honourable friend has told the House that he does not know whose representative I am.

I will tell him. I stand here, very humbly, Sir, as one of the representatives of the people of England; I stand here as the representative of my own opinions—opinions which I will never shape to suit the opinions of any other individual, let his situation be what it may, either in this House, or out of this House. I stand here as the representative of my own opinions, and I think I can appeal to the recollection of my right honourable friend himself, to bear witness that those opinions have not changed since I had the honour of acting with him. I also stand here, I trust, as one of that body which represents, or, which, at least, ought to be the maintainers of the honour and interests of England; and I can assure the House, that I shall never be deterred from the performance of that duty by any taunts which my right honourable friend may not think unworthy of himself, or which he may condescend to use, in order to extract a reluctant and unfrequent cheer from those who sit behind him on the treasury benches. Neither, Sir, will I ever be deterred by any of those—I will not call them unfair—but by any of those skilful dexterities of debate, from stating to the House, candidly and frankly, those opinions which I honestly entertain on the public affairs of the country; and little shall I care whom those opinions may please or displease, or what motive may be imputed to me, for doing what I most firmly believe to be my duty.

But, Sir, my right honourable friend insinuated that I

have been guilty of some breach of official duty, because I availed myself of information which he supposes I must have got from my official station. Now, Sir, I am not the only one who has that information; for it is impossible for any one who reads the newspapers of Europe, or who mixes in any degree in well-informed society, not to hear these matters discussed. And if ministers think that there is nothing of their policy known beyond the corner of Downing Street, except what they themselves may be pleased to communicate, they are egregiously mistaken, for there is much more known of their policy throughout Europe than they choose to confess.

My right honourable friend has been good enough to allude to what he calls my "unpremeditated impromptu," and to my improperly going into the question; but I can assure him that, when I entered the House, I meant to confine myself to a discussion of the simple question, relative to the territorial limits of Greece, and that I did not depart from that resolution till my right honourable friend set me the example, by himself infringing a rule which he would have everybody else religiously observe.

Debate on the Settlement of Greece. February 16,
1830.

*The Rule to be observed with regard to Official
Information.*

Sir, I readily admit that there are many cases in which Government are justified in withholding infor-

mation, and when it would be inexpedient for the House to press for it; but when the time is arrived, when the Government think that information can be given, without prejudice to the public service, they are bound to give to Parliament such information as may really elucidate the transactions to which it relates. Government should either make its stand on a denial of any information whatever, or they ought to give it in its fullest shape; for to give imperfect information—to mutilate extracts—to offer fragments of correspondence from which the most important parts have been left out, is to make a mockery of Parliament, under pretence of submitting to its jurisdiction.

Motion on the affairs of Portugal. March 10,
1830.

*Our general interference in the Affairs of Portugal
inevitable.*

Why, Sir, do what we will, there is a fatality which draws us, like the moth into the candle, to entangle ourselves in the internal affairs of Portugal; and so it must be, for no man can deny that England is deeply interested in the tranquillity and happiness of Portugal; and that Government, which had previously determined to abandon that tranquillity and welfare to its fate, was obliged afterwards to step in, although too late and unsuccessfully, and to attempt to restore them.

Ibid.

The Government to blame for withholding, and the House of Commons for not insisting upon, the production of information on the affairs of Portugal in 1830.

For a long time past we have been engaged in the affairs of Portugal, internal as well as external. These affairs have been the subject of much correspondence between England and the other powers of Europe. We have undertaken to reconcile the Princes of the house of Braganza: but was Portugal the only party concerned in these matters? Was not England herself deeply interested? In her interest Portugal was much more so. To her it was a matter of life and death—with us it was only a question of profit or loss. She suffered, we only arbitrated. She lay prostrate and powerless, with the dagger at her throat, and it depended on the turn of our hand, whether she was to be sacrificed or saved; and when the mighty intermeddle with the destiny of the weak, and make themselves the arbiters of fate, they are bound to show that they have neither done injustice themselves, nor connived at, nor encouraged it in others. It is then a matter of deep interest and high importance to know what have been the principles upon which the Government has acted, in what spirit our influence has been exerted, what objects we have arrived at, and by what means we have sought to obtain them. A revolution has been effected, and an usurpation accomplished, almost in the presence of a British force—a solemn engagement, to which we were parties, has been broken; personal insult has been offered to our Sovereign; Europe has been strewed with victims, ruined by their

confidence in us ; and with these facts before us, Ministers keep a gloomy silence—broken only by a few oracular words, contained in the speech from the throne, and a few papers granted last year on the motion of the honourable member for Knaresborough. Can it be said, under these circumstances, that the call on Government for further information is premature, or that Government is not to blame, in not having given it to the House sooner ? But it must be admitted that Government alone is not to blame in this matter ; the House must also take its share. It is very natural that Government should not be willing to give information tending to criminate itself ; and, therefore, we should not be surprised at the unwillingness of Ministers to produce the information called for. But this reluctance on the part of Government, is the very circumstance which should induce the House to persevere.

His motion on the affairs of Portugal. March 10, 1830.

Diplomacy not now an occult science : Parliament ought freely to canvass our foreign as well as our domestic policy.

I am aware of the great repugnance to discussions on our foreign relations of many in this House, who think that their duty does not extend beyond an investigation of matters connected with our domestic affairs, or who are willing to leave all matters of foreign politics wholly to the discretion of Ministers ; or who believe that in those affairs there is some superior mystery or craft above the comprehension of ordinary men ; but it is high time

that such notions should be exploded. A man who should pay the most diligent attention to his domestic affairs, is not thereby exempted from taking those steps which may be necessary to support his character in society amongst his fellow-men; but a fair character and good name in the eyes of the rest of the world are as necessary to nations as to individuals; and those who are determined to do their duty fairly by the country, are bound to look with equal anxiety to the relation in which we stand with foreign powers, and the probable estimation in which we may be held by other countries, in consequence of different acts, as to any other part of the policy of Government. There is nothing so mysterious or difficult in our foreign relations as that any man might not grapple with them, who came to the consideration of the subject with an ordinary share of intelligence. It may have suited the purposes of some to endeavour, like the high priests of Egypt, to keep knowledge to themselves, by locking it up in mystical and unintelligible language—but the time is past away—is gone by, when diplomacy was an occult science. Plain dealing, sincerity, and a regard to justice, is the most successful policy in the intercourse of cabinets, as well as in that of individuals. There may, it is true, be some few *ultimi Ronanorum* who still linger on the scene as specimens of an obsolete and exploded school; but their manœuvres and intrigues, whenever they attempt them, are sure to be nipped in the bud, and blasted as soon as born by immediate and unmerciful exposure. But, Sir, I say that every English gentleman who brings to the debates of this House an honest mind and a manly and generous spirit, will find it

just as easy to judge of these things, if he will only insist upon having proper information, as of anything else to which he may direct his attention.

His motion on the affairs of Portugal. March 10, 1830.

The Continental Sovereigns had made promises in their adversity which they broke in prosperity.

When Buonaparte was to be dethroned, the Sovereigns of Europe called up their people to their aid; they invoked them in the name of freedom and national independence. The cry went forth throughout Europe, and found a responsive chord vibrating in every heart; and those whom subsidies had no power to buy, and conscriptions no force to compel, roused by the magic sound of constitutional rights, started spontaneously into arms. The long-suffering nations of Europe rose up like one man, and by an effort tremendous and wide, spreading like a great convulsion of nature, they hurled the conqueror from his throne. But promises made in days of distress were forgotten in the hour of triumph, and the events of that period offered an additional proof,

. "How soon
Height will recall high thought; how soon unsay
What feigned submission swore; how ease recant
Vows made in pain, as violent and void!"

The rulers of mankind, like the Persian fisherman, had set free a gigantic spirit from its own prison; but when that spirit had done their bidding, they shrank back

with alarm from the vastness of that power which they themselves had set in action, and modestly requested to go down again into its former dungeon. Hence that gloomy discontent—that reckless disquiet—that murmuring sullenness which pervaded Europe after the overthrow of Buonaparte, and which were so unlike the joyful gladness that might have been looked for among men just released from the galling yoke of a foreign military tyrant. In 1820, the long brooding fire broke out into open flame; in Germany it was still kept down, and smothered; but in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, it overpowered every resistance.

His motion on the affairs of Portugal. March 10, 1830.

A disclaimer of warlike tendencies.

Sir, whenever I have brought before the House any question relating to our foreign policy, and have endeavoured to explain to the House the false and injurious principles upon which the Government have acted, my right honourable friends, no doubt from want of better arguments, have endeavoured to put me down with a cry, and have exclaimed to the House, “Listen not to him, he would involve you in war!” and I dare say that I shall hear the same words repeated this night, as the readiest way of getting rid of a difficult discussion.

But, Sir, I deny the charge, both in argument and fact. War is not the object of my wish, nor would have been the consequence of the measure I suggest. I say, on the contrary, that war is much more likely to be the consequence of the system of policy pursued by the

Government. I am neither mad, nor destitute of ordinary sense ; how then could I wish to plunge the country into unnecessary war ? A celebrated writer, who lived in a country where military glory, beyond all other things, dazzles the public mind, has justly remarked, that those only were really fond of war who were ignorant of its evils ; and if there were any in this country, whom a love of national glory could blind to the magnitude of the price by which alone that glory can be purchased, sure I am that the trophies of that war which ended at Trafalgar and at Waterloo might satiate the most ardent imagination, and reconcile it to a century of peace.

His motion on the affairs of Portugal. March 10, 1830.

The one course by which Peace can be maintained.

But, Sir, peace is best maintained by showing that we respect ourselves, and by gaining the respect of others—by neither doing nor bearing injustice—by neither offering nor brooking affront—by neither seeking a quarrel nor inviting an insult—by proclaiming that we will never accept one.

But, above all, the maxim of a great nation ought to be, “Be just, and fear not.” We should steer a straightforward course, neither led away by timid apprehensions of the strong, nor by a wish to prey upon the weak ; and then, if war be unfortunately forced upon us by the violence or injustice of others, we shall be strong in the union which arises from a consciousness of right, and carry into battle that cheering encouragement which the sympathy of by-standers inspires. But by pursuing a

different course—by leaguings with the oppressors, and trampling upon the oppressed; by submitting to wrongs from others, and perpetrating wrongs ourselves, by making party and personal objects instead of great principles the rule of our conduct, we gradually break down and confound all those moral distinctions in which our strength ought to lie, and find ourselves, at last, involved in a labyrinth of complications from which there will be no escape, except by humiliating concessions, or by unjust, and, therefore, disadvantageous war.

His motion on the affairs of Portugal. March 10, 1830.

The Foreign Policy of England changed.

Sir, in 1826, a Sovereign in alliance with us gave to his subjects free institutions, and all Europe exclaimed, this is the advice of England. In 1829, another Sovereign, also our ally, called to his councils an administrator repugnant to the liberal feelings of his subjects, and considered by them as hostile to their constitutional rights, and all Europe immediately exclaimed, this is the nomination of England. Mr. Canning, in 1826, disclaimed the boon, and could hardly prevail upon any man to believe him. The present Government, in 1829, denied the infliction, and the world are equally incredulous.

In 1826, when rational freedom seemed to dawn upon Portugal, and held out a promise of prosperity and happiness, all men fancied they could trace, in that auspicious event, the secret workings of the beneficent hand of England. In 1829, when a cloud overspread France, and

seemed to threaten the subversion of her dearest institutions, all mankind pronounced that it must be the handiwork of England. Whence has arisen this great and sudden change in public opinion? Why is England, who but three short years ago was hailed as the author of good, now branded as the instigator of evil? Why? It is because here, as well as hereafter, men will be judged not by their professions, but by their deeds.

I say, then, that we have shrunk from solemn and public engagements; that we have abandoned to exile, to beggary, to dungeons and to death, thousands of men whom a knowledge of those engagements might justly have led to count upon our protection; that we have lost our influence in Portugal, and thrown her into the arms of Spain; that we have tarnished our character in Europe, and endangered the preservation of peace; and if any man should acknowledge what has been accomplished by sacrifices, so many and so great, the only answer I can make to him is, that the constitutional freedom of Portugal has been destroyed.

His motion on the affairs of Portugal. March 10, 1830.

Indirect preferable to direct Taxation.

I will not enter into any long arguments, or into the reasons which, as I am at present informed, have created a bias in my mind against the substitution of other taxes for those upon consumption; but I will shortly state my opinion, that if the taxes are to be placed upon land, or the rent of land, such a system must be partial, while it

must also be made permanent to afford relief from indirect taxation. But if it is also to be applied to capital, then I think that labour and industry will have to bear the burden as much as they do at present; so that we shall only have to choose between the inconveniences of levying; and to consider whether less would arise from the inquisitorial process by which a tax upon income is obtained, than from the system which we now have.

Mr. Poulett Thomson's motion for Committee on Taxation. March 25, 1830.

Monarchy without a Monarch.

There is no form of government so admirably calculated to promote the happiness and security of the country as a limited monarchy, but there is hardly any form of government liable to such dreadful mischief as a monarchy without a monarch.

Debate on the King's Message. June 30, 1830.

The Emancipation Act.—How received by the Roman Catholics of Ireland.—Repeal not wished for.

Sir, I must deny that the noble Marquis, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, has acted with precipitation and rashness, in the circumstances under which he has found himself placed. So far from joining in any charge against him of want of deliberation, I beg to say that he has acted with the perfect concurrence—in the most strict accordance with the feelings and wishes of His Majesty's Government.

I go further, and say, if the noble Marquis had not adopted the line of conduct he has, he would not have deserved the confidence of his Sovereign, nor would he have properly discharged the high duties intrusted to him. Was it to be expected that men with common understandings would be deceived by the shallow artifices, under cover of which it was attempted to outrage and insult the laws and the government of the country? If His Majesty's Government had been deceived by the pretences of the member for Waterford, they would have been deserving, not of ridicule merely, but of the severest censure.

Recurring to that great measure of conciliation to which I have adverted, I must say, that if anything could lead me to entertain a doubt of its expediency, it would be the advantage now taken of it by those who seek to promote discord in Ireland; these men who seek to carry into effect designs of a most dangerous nature—designs which, nevertheless, they effect to disclaim. But, Sir, whatever may be the advantage which the Emancipation Act may have given to the plotters against the peace of the empire, their machinations, I trust, are destined to be defeated; and I am convinced, that by having carried that great measure, we shall have additional power to defeat them. I do not believe that the Repeal of the Union is an object of desire in Ireland. Those who do advocate it, are not the persons by whose opinions I would be guided in judging of the wishes of the public. I do not allude to the peasantry; I am not to be guided by the feelings of those ignorant and deluded men, who are led away by the artifices of demagogues; but, Sir, I speak of people of property; of those who have something to lose. I maintain, that

taking the property, the intelligence, and the respectability of the country, the Repeal of the Union is not wished for by Ireland.

House of Commons. February 8, 1831.

Belgium.—Right of the European Powers to Interfere.

The honourable member (Mr. Hume), accuses us of reviving the doctrines of the Holy Alliance, and departing from our pledges of non-interference. I totally deny that charge, and contend that there is nothing in any view of the proceedings which can in the slightest degree warrant it. The honourable member must have been strangely confused in his mind when he said the external limits of a country were a matter connected with its internal affairs. Sir, if any two things are more distinct one from another, it is those two. But let us see what is the right which this country, or the other powers of Europe have to intermeddle, as he calls it, in the affairs of Belgium. I will tell him, and it is the only title by which we are called upon to interfere. Belgium, in the history of modern times, never was an independent State, it was first Spanish, then Austrian, then French, and finally was conquered from France by the united efforts of Europe, when all Europe differed with Buonaparte as to what should be the limits of his empire. He happened to think that the fit limits were the confines of Europe and Asia; the other powers thought it would be more convenient that they should be nearer to France, the result of that difference of opinion was, that Belgium was severed from France. The natural course

would have been for Austria, the last preceding master, again to enter into possession, but Austria surrendering the right she might have set up, the powers of Europe, including France herself, by treaty united Belgium to Holland, not for the purpose of advantage to Holland, or as a favour to the King of the Netherlands, but as that disposition of Belgium which it was thought would be most conducive to the security and peace of Europe. Events having occurred which rendered that union no longer possible, the powers, parties to the treaty by which the union was established, had a right to concern themselves with the separation of those countries. They were not to concern themselves with the question whether Belgium, having won her freedom with her arms, should or should not be subject again to Holland, and no such interference took place. Neither were they to concern themselves with the internal government of Belgium, and accordingly there has been no interference with its internal government.

I say, Sir, that the other powers of Europe have a right to look narrowly to proceedings in which their own interests are so nearly connected: they have a right to say to Belgium, "You never have been an independent state, never have had a national King; you have been the servants of one master after another; you have no right to deprive Holland of her ancient boundaries; you have no right to convert yourselves into aggressors, and claim that which belongs of right to another." Holland is a State whose existence is known to the world—Holland is a State which the powers of England and Europe have united to maintain—Holland is a State whose inde-

pendence and integrity concern the welfare of other countries. We have a right to say to Belgium, "You are a legislature of yesterday, your independence has hardly been established, and you have no right to claim as yours that which of right belongs to another." I say, therefore, that the powers of Europe, and England especially, have not only a right, but, in my opinion, are bound to see, that by no separation between Belgium and Holland shall the ancient territories of Holland be prejudiced.

House of Commons. February 18, 1831.

Belgium: Principle of the new Sovereignty.

The duchy of Luxembourg is claimed by Belgium. That duchy belongs, by treaty entered into by the powers of Europe, to the confederation of the German empire; and the five great powers who were parties to that treaty have a right to say to Belgium, "You shall not enter into possession of the duchy of Luxembourg;" and simply for this reason, because the German Confederation have rights over that duchy which no other power has any pretension whatever to interfere with. But, Sir, I say, independently of the circumstance that the great powers of Europe were parties, by treaty, to the arrangement which united Belgium to Holland—independently of that circumstance, I maintain that there is nothing in the principle of non-interference, properly and rightly laid down, which prescribes abstinence from interference of this description. If that which passes in a neighbouring country is calculated to affect the general peace of Europe, then I conceive that interference to a certain extent is justifiable; and upon

that principle, I say, that if Belgium chooses to elect for its Sovereign a person who must necessarily be deemed dangerous to neighbouring States, these neighbouring States, which would be affected by such a choice, have a right to say to Belgium, without presuming to dictate to her who shall be her King, "Such a person will be dangerous to us, and such a person, therefore, we will not have." Proceeding on this principle, Sir, I say, on the other hand, that the other powers of Europe have a right to say to France, "It is not consistent with the good faith of your engagements, or with our feelings or our interests, that you should fix upon the Duke of Nemours to become King of Belgium, because in that case, Belgium will become virtually united to France, and therefore dangerous to the other powers of Europe;" and, on the other hand, they have a right to say to Belgium, if they elect the Duke of Leuchtenberg, who is placed in such circumstances, that if he were nominated King, Belgium would necessarily become the centre and focus of political intrigue, threatening danger to all the neighbouring States—I say, Sir, that if the Duke of Leuchtenberg were elected, the other powers would have a right to say, "That person is individually objectionable in our eyes, on grounds connected with national security; and if you elect him, we cannot encourage or countenance that election." Now, Sir, I mean to contend that the pursuing such a course as this would not be an interference in the internal affairs of Belgium, in any rational, sensible, or consistent application of the term.

House of Commons. February 18, 1831.

Reform of Parliament.—Difficulty of the question.—

The English not fond of change.

Sir, I do not affect, for a moment, to conceal the difficulty with which the question is surrounded ; if I did, I should be unworthy of the place I hold, and the part I take on this occasion ; for he must indeed be a bold, or an unthinking man, who could approach the consideration of such a question without the deepest anxiety and solicitude, and who could propose to make such a change in a constitution, which, with all its faults, has been productive of so many benefits to the country at large—I repeat, he must be a very bold, and a very thoughtless man, who could propose such a change without most seriously considering it in all its bearings. Prone-ness to changes and fondness for experiment have never been the character of the English nation. They have, on the contrary, been remarkable for tenacious adherence to existing institutions, and for stubborn resistance even to plausible innovations. Striking, indeed, is the contrast which, in this respect, they exhibit with their next door neighbours of the continent ; for while France boasts of the newness and freshness of her institutions, the people of England place their pride and attachment in the antiquity of theirs. So hard, indeed, is it to bring this nation to consent to great and important changes, that some of those measures which impartial posterity will stamp with the mint-mark of purest wisdom, and most unalloyed good, have only been wrung from the reluctant consent of England, after long and toilsome years of pro-

tracted discussion ; and even such acts as the re-admission of the Catholics to the pale of the constitution, and the prohibition of the traffic in the flesh and blood of man, were each of them the achievement of a hard-fought contest of many years.

When, then, the public voice calls for change, when innovation is demanded, not by the bow-window orators and market-place politicians of the honourable member, but when the calm and steady voice of those whose property, intelligence, and station place them in a far different class ; when the voice of such men calls loudly and constantly for change, it would be vain to attempt to persuade ourselves that there is not some real and practical evils which it is the duty of Parliament forthwith to endeavour to remedy.

Debate on Reform. House of Commons. March 3, 1831.

The popular desire for Reform.

The honourable gentleman has said, that if the people were left to themselves they would be quiet, and not think of making such demands as the present measure is intended to satisfy ; and he added, that if the Government, and the press, and the public did not all pursue a fallacy, we should not have heard so much of the cry for innovation. Now, has it never occurred to the honourable gentleman, that when the Government, and the press, and the public are all of the same opinion, it may be possible that this opinion is not a fallacy ? I contend that the people of this country seek for a change in the constitu-

tion of this House, and I need give no other proof of this than the fact, that we are sitting here, and the honourable gentlemen opposite, on the benches which they now occupy. They may give what colour they please to their retirement from office; they may put it as they will upon the details of the Civil List, or on some petty questions about half a dozen salaries and appointments, but the rock they split upon was public opinion. Buoyed up with confidence in power, and spreading wide all the canvas of patronage, they bore down upon the breakers and met their fate. Sir, the besetting sin of the late Administration was a defiance of public opinion—of public opinion at home, of public opinion abroad; a belief that the firm will and steady determination of a few men in power could bear down the opinions of the many, and stifle the feelings of mankind. The mistake was fatal to those who made it, but the evil consequences were not confined to themselves. Their error set Europe in flames, and covered these islands with disorder. The commotions on the continent are still raging, and he must be a presumptuous man who will predict their issue. At home tranquillity has been restored—in England entirely, in Ireland nearly so; and any man who compares the state of the country in November with its condition now, must admit that the Government have not been inactive or negligent, or unequal to the arduous task which so suddenly devolved upon them. But let no man deceive himself upon this matter. It is true, that without the vigour and activity, the discretion and judgment displayed by my noble friend who presides over the Home Department, and by the noble Marquis who administers Ireland, these fortunate

results could never have been accomplished; but something more even than this is required—the support of public opinion, and the confidence of the country. And I will fearlessly venture to assert, that if the late Administration had remained in, they might have pursued, step by step, the very same measures as the present but never could they have produced the same result, for public opinion was against them, and its resistance would have paralyzed all their efforts.

I say, then, it was public opinion, strongly and steadily pronounced in favour of some considerable change in the constitution of this House, which, opposed as it was by the late Administration, drove them from the government of the country; and this public opinion it is which, in my judgment, renders it the duty of this House to take this matter into its serious consideration, and to see whether it be not possible to remedy those defects of which none can deny the existence, without marring those advantages of which all must admit the value.

If I am asked whence it is that this public opinion has so suddenly sprung up, in what hot-bed its too-rapid growth had been nurtured? I must answer, in the hot-bed of electioneering corruption. It is the frequency, the publicity, the extent, and above all, the impunity of abuse, which have turned every reflecting and reasonable man to seek for a remedy. But when such men were once driven to look narrowly into the matter, and to tear away the veil of sanctity with which hereditary respect had invested even the imperfections of our constitution, it was impossible that their opinions should not undergo still greater change, and that they should not gradually be brought

to wish for more extensive amendments than those the denial of which first led them to these contemplations. If, then, there are many in this House who would rather that this question had been let alone, who would willingly have gone on as we are, contented to bear with the faults of our constitution for the sake of its manifold excellencies ; let such men remember, that if they are now compelled to choose between a change which they fear, and the evils which must follow from its refusal, the blame of that necessity lies on the heads of those who, three years ago, threw their shield over convicted delinquency, and rejected the opportunity of timely and judicious improvement.

House of Commons. March 3, 1831.

Reform deferred too long.

If, three years ago, advantage had been taken of the conviction of corrupt boroughs, to bring gradually into connexion with this House the great unrepresented towns ; if, instead of drawing nice equations between the manufacturing and the agricultural interests, and with true algebraical accuracy bringing out a result of improvement just equal to nothing ; if, instead of this, the Government had turned reformers on ever so moderate a scale ; if the Government had admitted the principle of amendment, and pledged themselves to act upon it whenever opportunities might occur, the House would not now have been discussing a plan of general reform proposed by my noble friend, as His Majesty's Paymaster of the Forces.

I supported all those proposals for limited reform then, because I thought them good in themselves; and because I clearly foresaw, that if they were refused, we should be obliged to have recourse to wider and more extensive changes; and my predictions were contemned and disregarded by the honourable gentlemen opposite; but they have been fully verified by the result. For reasons similar to those which induced me then to support those limited propositions of reform, I am now prepared to support the more extensive measure which has been proposed by my noble friend.

House of Commons. March 3, 1831.

Mr. Canning and Reform.

Taunts have been thrown out in the course of this night's debate against those who, like myself, were the admirers of Mr. Canning. We have been taunted for abandoning the principles which he supported with respect to the important question of reform. Sir, I should have thought that events which have happened within these walls since the lamented death of that great and illustrious man, might have taught those from whom those taunts have proceeded, an humbler and a juster estimate of the extent to which this sort of consistency ought to be carried. I should have thought that such men might have learnt from examples, which they will be not less disposed than I am to respect, that public men may change their opinions upon questions of great public importance, without any other motive than an honourable, I will say a noble, regard for their country's good; I should have thought these persons might have

learnt that it is not the duty of a public man in this House to carry what I will call the puerile vanity of consistency of opinion to such an extent, as to sacrifice to it the interests and safety of his country.

As to my own opinions, I have stated them: what the opinions of Mr. Canning would have been in the present day, had he been spared to the country, I will not take upon me to say; but they are bad expounders of the opinions of Mr. Canning, who look only to the particular sentiments which he may have expressed in particular times, without fathoming the depth of the great principle by which the whole course of his public life was guided. If ever there was a man who took great and enlarged views of human affairs, that man was Mr. Canning,—if ever there was a man who, as it were, polarized his opinions by universal and all-pervading principles of action, that man was, undoubtedly, Mr. Canning; and when our assailants on this question would endeavour to pin down his gigantic mind by the Lilliputian threads of verbal quotation, I repudiate in his name the conclusions which they would draw; and I feel convinced, that if he had been standing here now, his mighty genius would have embraced within its comprehensive grasp all the various necessities upon which our own conclusions have been founded, and that he would, in all probability, have stated to the House, with powers, alas, how different from those of any now within these walls! the same opinions which I venture humbly to submit. If any man wants a key to the opinions of Mr. Canning, let him consult the concluding passage of his speech on the 24th of February, 1826, as applicable to the present occasion as to that upon which it was delivered; in which he

says, that "they who resist improvement because it is innovation, may find themselves compelled to accept innovation when it has ceased to be improvement."

House of Commons. March 3, 1831.

Why a large Measure of Reform was necessary.

The course which, in 1828, lay before Parliament was simple and easy. They had only to transfer the franchise from boroughs convicted of corruption, and thus to connect with this House gradually, and as occasion occurred, the great manufacturing towns. The course, in 1831, is, however, far different, and it has now become necessary for the Government to take into consideration the whole system of parliamentary representation, and to propose to this House an extensive and effectual plan of improvement. Our constitution has grown up piecemeal, and by changes wrought gradually, and from time to time, in the frame and texture of our institutions, and it may perhaps be thought by some, that it would have been better piecemeal, and from time to time, to have made the necessary reparations. This was possible in 1828 ; in 1831, it has ceased to be so.

His Majesty's Government, in framing the plan which they have proposed to Parliament, have cast aside every consideration but an honest performance of their duty, and the permanent good of their country. They have not set their nets to catch particular parties—they have not laid traps for particular interests—they have fixed their eyes on

their object, and have advanced to it steadily and straightforward.

By those who are wedded to abuses, and who on principle are hostile to improvement, our plan may be denounced as revolution ; by those who wish to overthrow all existing institutions, and to erect on their ruin a system of which they might be rulers, it may, perhaps, be stigmatized as insufficient and delusive ; but by those in whose minds party prejudice has not dethroned reason, who look only to their country's good, and who admit the great truth, that timely correction and improvement are the conservative principles of free institutions, our plan will appear, as it does to us, well calculated to bring back the practice of the constitution to the original principles upon which it was founded, to consolidate the fabric, and give it new consistency and strength.

Any one who looks at the constitution of the representation of this House, cannot fail to be struck by five prominent defects : the nomination boroughs, or the system by which an individual exercises an undue influence in the election ; the gross, general, and barefaced corruption which prevails, not only in small, but also in large places ; the want of members for some of the greatest and most important manufacturing towns ; the expenses of elections ; and the unequal distribution among different classes of society of that power which results from the exercise of the elective franchise.

To all these defects, the plan before the House applies sound and wholesome remedies ; and I am convinced that, if calmly and dispassionately examined, there is not

an evil they generate, which it will not prevent the continuance of. It is impossible for any man to say that the existence of nomination boroughs is consistent with the theory of the constitution, according to which honourable members sit in this House as the representatives of the people of England. I do not deny that some of those boroughs have afforded an entrance within these walls to persons of splendid talents and great capacity, who have done good service to their country, and who might not otherwise have been able, constituted as Parliament now is, to have obtained access to this House. I am well aware, too, that popular rights have not always been sacrificed by those in whose election the popular voice has had no share, and that among the most illustrious champions of constitutional principles, have been many of those who have owed their seats in this House to the discriminating kindness of some of these borough proprietors. But, though I admit the force of the argument drawn from these facts, yet, when I find how impossible it is to maintain in argument the practice of such nominations, as consistent with the theory of a representative Government, I am compelled to declare that no plan of reform can be perfect or effective which is not founded upon the disfranchisement of those boroughs. Without this disfranchisement, indeed, it would be impossible to carry the plan of reform into effect: for how else are we to provide for the great commercial and manufacturing towns those representatives, which all now admit it is necessary to concede to them? This House is already sufficiently numerous, perhaps too numerous, for the convenient dispatch of public business;

and, unless we take from the close boroughs the members which we are about to bestow on the counties and the large representative towns, we must add to the evil which is felt and acknowledged.

House of Commons. March 3, 1831.

Disfranchisement of close boroughs will not destroy the legitimate influence of the aristocracy.

The object the Government had in view in this disfranchisement was, first, to give representatives to the great manufacturing towns; and next, to add to the respectability of the electors, and to increase the number of those who have a claim to enjoy the right of choosing their representatives. This has been done by conferring the right of the elective suffrage on all those who rent a dwelling in any of the new places of £10 a-year value. This will increase the number in several places; but when the electors are not sufficiently numerous to secure the independence, this measure provides a remedy, by directing that a commission appointed for that purpose shall be enabled to throw in the householders of the adjoining parishes. I do not think, in doing so, that we have taken too large a latitude. It is not the object of Government to sever the ties which unite the middle and lower classes with the aristocracy; and we do not think that our proposition will have any such effect. We do not wish to put an end to that influence which arises from good conduct on the one hand, and respect and affection on

the other. Such influence as this does honour to both parties, and dignifies the condition of society. The influence which we put an end to, is that which consists in naked authority on one side, and unreasoning dependence on the other,—an influence which corrupts alike those who exert and those who submit to it; which poisons the relations between the rich and the poor; which contaminates public principle, and degrades the society in which it exists.

When, however, the honourable member for Callington contends that the measure will in reality put an end to all the power of the aristocracy, and produce a real as well as theoretical separation between this and the other House, I am not called on to answer him, for he has supplied an answer to himself. The honourable member seemed to forget, that in the arguments he used to prove that the Duke of Bedford would enjoy the same political influence as he did before, he also asserted, as a proof of the inefficacy of the working of the new system, that he would enjoy just the same extent of nomination and authority in his borough of Callington as he at present possesses. Now, this is the true view of the operations of the plan before the House. I contend, that property, rank, and respectability will still maintain the same influence in the representation—an influence, of which I should be the last man to deprive it, but which is not to be maintained in the present state of society independent of good conduct, morality, and intelligence. It is the possession of those qualities, united with rank and station, which now commands admiration and respect; and if the measure excludes all influence not founded on this basis, so far from

its being a ground of objection, I think it one of the greatest benefits we can confer on this House and the country.

House of Commons. March 3, 1831.

Importance of Local Influence on the Representatives.

The advantage of the present method of representation does not consist in the fact that there are six hundred and fifty-eight members of intelligence and ability, but that they are elected by a great number of constituents as the representatives of a number of different interests. It was said by Mr. Horne Tooke, that if we were to stop the first four thousand or five thousand people who passed through any given turnpike near London, and pick out of them the six hundred and fifty-eight most likely-looking men, we should have an assembly perfectly competent to legislate for the country; and if there could be any semblance of foundation for such an opinion in the day in which he expressed it, how much more true must it be now, when intelligence and political information are so much more widely diffused. But even if, by any fortuitous concurrence—not of atoms, but brains—an assembly so got together, were to contain as much good sense and good feeling, as much splendid talent, and deep knowledge, and extensive information as are to be found within these walls, still it would not be a House of Commons; it would want that sympathy of feeling that community of local and particular interests, that personal relationship and

individual connexion which bind together the representative and the elector, the people of England and the House of Commons. The advantages of this intimate connexion are manifold and great ; on the one hand, it gives to Parliament a more accurate knowledge of the wants and wishes of the people ; on the other, it inspires the people with a firmer confidence in the wisdom of Parliament. If at any time it should happen, as it sometimes does, that Parliament is in advance of public opinion, the people are more disposed to submit to the judgment of men whom they know, whom they respect, and whom they themselves have chosen ; and if the members of this House ever feel a secret temptation to swerve from their path, and sacrifice the interests committed to their charge, a vision of that accusing period of account which must return them to the tribunal of their constituents cannot fail to pass in perspective before their minds, and keep them unflinching to their duty.

House of Commons. March 3, 1831.

Importance of the Landed Interest.

The landed interest is the great foundation upon which rest the fabric of society, and the institutions of the country. I mean no disparagement to manufactures and commerce ; I know how essential they are to the happiness and prosperity of the country, and how much they add even to the value of the land. But the land of the country is the country itself, and the owner of the land

has the deepest and most permanent interest in its well-being ; tied down to the soil, he must share the fortunes of his country, whether in its greatness or its fall.

House of Commons. March 3, 1831.

Reasons for supporting the Reform Bill of Ministers.

This, then, is the plan of reform which His Majesty's Government have proposed in redemption of the pledge which they gave on their first accession to power, and this is the plan upon which I entreat this House to bestow its calmest and most unprejudiced attention, and to pronounce that decision which may be most accordant with the true interests of the country. Many there are within this House, who representing or connected with those boroughs which fall within the scope of disfranchisement, may be supposed to have personal interests which may sway their judgment on this occasion. I am convinced that such persons will rise superior to these considerations—that they will remember that they are sent here to consult for the welfare of the whole empire, and not to act as the retained advocates of particular places ; I am convinced that the votes of such men will be given according to their sense of public duty, and not from personal and local considerations. Those who think that public opinion can be made to bend to individual will, or that it is a power which may safely be thrown out of account in calculating the workings of that complicated machine, the Government of a country, will naturally oppose this measure. They may persuade themselves that a vote of

this House will utter the opinions and wishes of the nation; they may fancy that the Government can be carried on as well in defiance of the opinions and the wishes of the nation, as by consulting and deferring to them. I trust that those who entertain these sentiments, and who are prepared to act upon these principles, are not a majority in this House, because I am convinced that, if such opinions and principles were to prevail, the consequences must be unfortunate. Those, on the other hand, who think that governments are stable and strong, in proportion as they are founded upon the affections and convictions of the people; that thrones rest on firmer foundations in proportion as they are cemented with the property and intelligence of all classes of subjects; that nations are powerful and happy, in proportion as all classes among them are united by sympathy of feeling and community of interest; those persons, I trust, will give us their support to-night; and I pray that, in the decision of the House, the voices of such men may prevail.

House of Commons. March 3, 1831.

Sir R. Peel's Arguments against Reform answered.

My right honourable friend says, in his alarm of revolution, that the proposed measure goes not only to alter the constituency of counties, but likewise the constituency of cities and boroughs. He has enumerated the number of towns and cities to which it is proposed that the power of the Committee of the Privy Council should extend, in order to annex a sufficient number of voters. That is the

alteration in the constituency of cities and boroughs, which my right honourable friend considers revolutionary. The revolution, then, is to be effected by the King's Privy Council. If it is really from such a quarter that revolution is to come, I admit that I shall not feel so much alarm at the idea of revolution as I have hitherto done. The argument hitherto used against the appointment of the Committee of the Privy Council was, that it subjected the constituency to the arbitrary will of the Privy Council; but now it is apprehended that the King's Privy Council will work a revolution. The revolution is to arise from a Committee of the Privy Council being empowered to enlarge the constituency of cities and boroughs. But then, says my right honourable friend, you are going to deal with the prerogative of the Crown by the alteration which you propose to make in the close boroughs. But does my right honourable friend consider the value of that prerogative with which we propose to deal? As the servants of the Crown, we should in vain bring that rusty weapon out of the armoury of the monarchy, or attempt to use it in its naked state. If we look to this measure as a practical measure, it has nothing to do with the prerogative of the Crown. Some people, indeed, may choose to consider close boroughs as the props and support of the Crown; but when they talk about the Crown, I suppose they mean only the Government of the day. The representatives of close boroughs, however, are not in the habit of voting always for the present or any other Government.

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So far as the prerogative of the Crown goes, the presence of members for close boroughs in this House does not support it; whilst their presence inflicts injury on the interests of the people. My right honourable friend says, that supposing such a state of things to arise in this country as preceded the granting of Catholic emancipation in Ireland, would not the prerogatives of the Crown be in great danger from the presence of a vast number of persons in this House, sent hither by spontaneous election? Now, Sir, I cannot help thinking that if this House had been differently constituted—if it had been modelled upon the proposed plan—Catholic emancipation, and other measures of great importance, would have been carried at earlier and more opportune periods. This would have been a great advantage; and this consideration weighs with me materially in favour of the proposed measure. My right honourable friend has referred to the example of the French Convention, and wishes to have it supposed that the disorders and insanities of the French Revolution may be enacted in this country, if the representation is placed on a basis more analogous to the spirit of the constitution. The whole of this argument proceeds on the assumption that the theory of the British constitution is a thing to be feared, if reduced to practice, and that in proportion as we assimilate the practice to the theory, every hope of safety is annihilated.

I cannot conceive that there is the slightest analogy between the French Revolution and the proposed measure. It is like comparing the conduct of a child ungifted with reason, or a person whom Providence has afflicted with madness, with the conduct of a person of sound mind and

full estate, and saying they would act alike under similar circumstances, to contend that, if the people of this country were really represented in this House, they would act in the same way as the people of France did. The argument drawn from the French Revolution, then, has no weight ; for there is no similarity in the two cases. But my right honourable friend has also argued, that the bill will destroy the influence of the House of Lords ; and then he referred to the resolution which says that peers shall not interfere in elections. This is a new line of argument against the Bill. The argument hitherto has been that the Bill goes to establish a number of Bassetlaws throughout the country : and we have been charged with not being in earnest or sincere, in our desire to give the people a real representation, because, it was said, we only proposed to give a different kind of influence to the aristocracy and the landed interest.

The opponents of the Bill must abandon one or other of those arguments—they cannot both be true—they destroy each other.

House of Commons. March 24, 1831.

Parallel between the unenfranchised English and the unemancipated Irish.

My right honourable friend (Sir Robert Peel), with the good feeling and good taste with which he always addresses the House, has adverted to the speech made on a former occasion by an honourable and learned gentleman, the member for Milborne Port. He referred to the honourable

and learned gentleman, as a proof of the advantages of the existence of close boroughs, as, after having been rejected by a county in Ireland, that honourable and learned gentleman had been enabled to come in for a borough, to delight the House by a display of his eloquence and talent. Now, I think that my right honourable friend might have also drawn another moral from the presence of the honourable and learned member for Milborne Port. The honourable and learned member is an instance of the advantage which arise from the concession of rights from the exercise of which he was long and unjustly excluded. He has been converted from being an agitator—if he is in the House, he will pardon me, I am sure, for the expression, which is not meant to attach offensively to him; I only refer to him, because it is necessary for the development of my argument—the honourable and learned gentleman having stood in a position which had driven him, as it were, to take refuge in faction and agitation, is now permitted, by the change of the law, to exercise that share of power which naturally belongs to him, to assume the character which my right honourable friend has done justice to, and to devote his faculties and talents to their legitimate object—the service of the public. The state of the honourable and learned gentleman before the change of the law, is the state of the middle classes now throughout the country: they are excluded from a fair exercise of power—from their due share in the Government—and are discontented: they are the prey to every factious agitator who chooses to pander to their passions, for the gratification of his vanity or of worse objects.

The people of England are now in the same state in

which the Catholics of Ireland were. Let us deal with the people of England as we did with the Catholics of Ireland, and the result will be the same. As the honourable and learned gentleman has turned his great faculties and powerful agitation to promoting the good of the country, so we shall find, upon passing this measure, that the feelings of the middle classes will be changed, and that their dissatisfaction will be converted into that attachment to the constitution, which will give to it a vast increase of strength and solidity.

House of Commons. March 24, 1831.

Foreigners in Gibraltar.

It is, and has been for some years past, a standing regulation in Gibraltar, that no foreigners, of any description whatever, can permanently reside in that garrison without the specific permission of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Governor can only grant a temporary permission to any foreigner to reside there.

House of Commons. March 30, 1831.

*Our non-recognition of a Foreign Sovereign, no reason
for abandoning the State itself.*

His Majesty's ministers are not at all insensible to the obligations under which this country stands to Portugal by a treaty, which binds us to lend our powerful succour in case of an unjust aggression; and if any circumstances had arisen to call for the aid of England, either by the

assistance of a military force, or by mediation, neither would have been refused, on the ground that the head of the Government of Portugal was not recognised by the sovereign of this country. Ministers feel that this want of recognition of the Government of Portugal would be no just reason why they should forget the force of the treaties which exist between us and that country, or to refuse aid in demanding an explanation from the French Government as to the grounds of its quarrel with Portugal.

House of Commons. July 27, 1831.

The Press.

I am not prepared to enter into any explanations, much less into any defence, as to the numerous and long quotations which the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Croker) made from the newspapers. I can assure that right honourable gentleman that I, for one, do not write in the newspapers. I am neither editor nor part-proprietor of any newspaper; and I beg, therefore, not to be held responsible for anything which may appear in those channels of information.

August 12, 1831.

A Retort upon Mr. Croker.

I shall not be deceived or led away by the attacks of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Croker), however they may have been accompanied by the most unre-

served declarations of personal regard and friendship. But the right honourable gentleman has certainly taken a very extraordinary, though, possibly, to him, satisfactory, mode of displaying his regard for me. He has indulged himself, if not the House, with a speech of at least an hour and a half,—two-thirds of that time having been occupied very agreeably to him, and certainly not at all disagreeably to me, in personal attacks upon myself; he has charged me with all sorts of loose conduct as an individual and as a minister—with carelessness out of office, and negligence in it—with absence from my post—with betraying the interests of my country—with injustice and cruelty to an independent sovereign—and other trifling offences of the same kind; but they are prefaced by the most flattering demonstrations—as far as declarations can be so considered—of personal esteem and respect, with the design of drawing me into a discussion of the whole Belgic question.

The right honourable gentleman did what in him lay, by provocation, accusation, and what is worse, exculpation—for I can forgive him anything sooner than his entering into a defence of my conduct—to draw me into the discussion of the whole question. Now, instead of entering into those details, and those arguments and explanations, which must necessarily recall the whole of these transactions, which I have already told the House that, as a minister of the Crown, I think it my duty not to do, I will repeat, that it is not my intention to depart from the decision I have already come to; and, in my opinion, the right honourable gentleman might have acted with greater advantage to the interests of the country if he

had abstained from introducing the subject. But it seems that, in the absence of the principal performers, he has been to-night allowed a whole benefit to himself. He has given us a display, part tragedy, part comedy, and part tragi-comedy, and I wish I could encourage him by stating that he sustained each portion with equal success.

Everybody knows that he is an exceedingly happy joker—happy sometimes in his self-satisfaction—and while he confines himself to the light and comic strain, he makes himself agreeable to everybody; but he must not attempt too much versatility; he may be a good statesman of all work, but I assure him that he is not a good actor of all work, and in his attempts at the heroic, he is apt to confound pathos with bathos, and to overleap the narrow bounds between the sublime and the ridiculous.

I recommend him, therefore, in future, if he wishes to preserve his reputation, to observe the rules laid down in some of his earlier and fugitive productions on the dramatic art, to cease to vex the grander passions of the soul—

“To leave high tragedy and stick to farce;”

he will thus yet afford much amusement; if it be not very rational, it will at least be very entertaining.

Debate on Holland and Belgium. August 12, 1831.

Reform of abuses, and not the restoration of the Constitution, the spirit of the Reform Bill.

The hon. and learned gentleman (Sir Charles Wetherell), seems to me to think his argument with respect to the burgage tenure boroughs is more conclusive than it strikes

me to be. He says that we founded our bill on the principle of restoring the constitution, but that as the burgage tenure boroughs always existed, in disfranchising them we are departing from our own principle. We say it is expedient to reform abuses which have existed for a long course of time, and to take away the right of representation from inconsiderable places.

House of Commons. July 20, 1831.

The Government of the Netherlands.

I will not, however, be led by any charge of ill conduct towards the King of the Netherlands, to make any retort on that Government; I will not, as the means of personal defence, be led into anything like recrimination. Into these subjects I will not allow myself to be forced. In the first place, if I felt it necessary to go into this discussion—if it were in my power to prove that the Government of the Netherlands had acted in an improper manner, still I would not do so, because they have been unfortunate, and are entitled, under all the circumstances, to respect. Feeling thus, I would rather be under all the imputations that have been cast upon me—they do not, I confess, press very heavily upon me—I would rather, I repeat, bear this endurable weight, than, by entering on the discussion, do anything that would appear unhandsome or unfair towards the Government of the Netherlands.

I have never charged that Government with perfidy. I have merely stated facts in this House—I have stated no opinions—and, therefore, I am not answerable for the sen-

timents contained in those extracts which the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Croker), in his leisure hours, selected from the newspapers, and long may he enjoy the leisure for such an occupation, when he thinks proper to analyse public transactions.

House of Commons. July 20, 1831.

Dutch haste.

Now, I do not know what may be the official habits of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Croker), but this I know, that what he recommends are not mine. I am a member of the Conference, but only a member, and if I, as a member of the Conference, receive a letter addressed to the Conference, I do not think myself justified in opening it but in the presence of the other members of the Conference. But then, says the right honourable gentleman, how could a minister of England, at such a perilous moment—when the fate of Europe was hanging, not on days or on hours, but possibly on minutes—receive a mysterious communication brought by a special envoy by the “Lightning” steam-boat (for the winds were not swift enough, and it therefore came with the speed of lightning), how could he, unmindful of the interests of his country, and regardless of the fate of nations, receive such a letter, and keep it in his pocket till the following and succeeding day? That was the best touch of pathos in the right honourable gentleman’s speech, though it did not appear to create any great effect.

Now, what is the answer to this statement? The Conference invited the King of the Netherlands to send

over a minister to negotiate a peace. If the King had replied: "No, I will not treat—I will fight, and I send you a letter with the reason," the business would have been intelligible. If the plenipotentiary appointed by the King had said to the Conference, "I am sorry to tell you that my master refuses to negotiate, there is a letter to the Conference which will explain his motives, be those motives good, bad, or indifferent;" in that case, I should have lost no time in summoning the members of the Conference, and laying that document before them. But what did the Dutch minister say in half an hour's conversation which I had with him? That he had come to negotiate peace, and that his powers were so ample that he hoped to be able to conclude a treaty without a reference even for further instructions. Did he let me know then that hostilities had commenced? Not a word of the kind fell from him. He argued the case of his master, the King of the Netherlands. And here I wish it to be clearly understood that I insinuate no charge against that honourable and respectable individual. In this interview he stated, in some detail, the case of the King of Holland against Belgium. But when he went away, I had no more notion that the Dutch troops had entered the Belgian territory twenty-four hours before, than I had of the most remote or improbable event that could be imagined.

This statement, I think, will account for my not going on with that Dutch haste which the right honourable gentleman appears to be so anxious for, to summon the members of the Conference. But supposing the letter had been immediately laid before the Conference, what

could its effect have been? On that very night we received intelligence from Sir Charles Bagot, that the Dutch troops had marched. It was, therefore, too late for making that moral experiment which the right honourable gentleman insists might have been made, and would have been made if it had not been for a culpable negligence. But the experiment was tried upon others, though not upon the ministers of the different powers in London. The experiment was tried upon the ministers at the Hague; for this letter, which the right honourable gentleman says is such a clear announcement of hostilities, was put into the hands of the ministers of the five powers at the Hague; and whether there was anything obtuse in the air of that place to blunt or obscure their faculties, I know not, but it did not occur to them that it indicated the march of the Dutch forces.

Our minister at the Hague remonstrated on the general tone and language of the communication, but it had never entered into his head that the Dutch troops had marched. When our minister heard, through a private channel, that the troops had crossed the Belgic frontier, he went to the Dutch minister and asked him to explain a circumstance so unexpected, and it was in answer to his demand for explanation, that he was informed that the passage in the letter meant that hostilities had actually begun. Even if we had opened the letter immediately, therefore, unless we could contrive to be more quick and intelligent than our colleagues at the Hague, the letter would not have told us that hostilities had commenced.

House of Commons. July 20, 1831.

Party attempts to drag Governments into premature discussions.

Any one who looks at the important events now passing in Europe, any one who feels for his country, any man who has the slightest knowledge of business—not the long official experience of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Croker), but that slight knowledge which a man who never set his foot in a public office must have if governed by good sense and discretion; any man, I say, with even this degree of knowledge, must see, that he who attempts to drag a Government into discussions on a subject like this, and at a moment like the present, whether it be to gratify his own vanity, or for the nobler and more amiable motive of personal friendship and regard for the individual he attacks, although he may get a few cheers from a corps, destitute this day of its natural and appointed officers, will not, I believe, receive the approbation of the public, and cannot, I am sure, do any service to his country.

House of Commons. July 20, 1831.

Royal Prerogative and Government Responsibility.

The prerogatives of declaring war and making peace, and the discretion of conducting negotiations which must end in the declaration of war or the maintenance of peace, are vested in the Crown by the constitution; and so long as the House reposes confidence in His Majesty's minis-

ters, it ought not to take out of their hands the conduct and control of those important and delicate negotiations. If this House is to interfere with, and control those negotiations, it will, in fact and effect, take the care of the public interests entirely out of the hands of the servants of the Crown.

House of Commons. August 18, 1831.

Not to have interfered in the affairs of Holland and Belgium would have been an abandonment of English interests.

The honourable member for Middlesex (Mr. Hume) has expressed his disapprobation of the course pursued by His Majesty's Government, in interfering in the dispute between Belgium and Holland, and has contended that by this interference ministers abandoned the principles they had advocated when out of office, and have imposed upon the people of Belgium a Government adverse to their wishes. The King of Holland not having assented to the treaty, it must be obvious that the period has not yet arrived when this subject can be fully entered upon. When that period shall arrive, however, I shall be prepared to show that the interference of His Majesty's Government in the affairs of Belgium rests upon principles acted upon by the Government of England in the best times, and that, if the present Government had not acted upon those principles, they would have abandoned the interests of England itself. I must altogether deny that

the Government of this country has been instrumental in imposing upon Belgium a Government inconsistent with the wishes of the people of that country. On the contrary, the people of Belgium chose their own form of government, and elected their own sovereign. The circumstances under which the Government of this country interfered were simply these :

Both Holland and Belgium were anxious to be separated, but it was impossible for them to agree upon the terms of the separation, and the inevitable consequence of their being left to themselves would have been that Europe would have been involved in a war. By the interference which took place, peace was preserved, and Europe saved from war. It would have been a war of principle too ; into which it is hardly possible that England should not soon have been brought. By the interference which has taken place, this consequence has been averted ; Holland is placed in a better situation than she has ever been in at any former period, and Belgium has secured to itself the form of Government, and the sovereign which its people have chosen.

Debate on the address in answer to the King's speech.

December 7, 1831.

An European war would have been the consequence of our opposing the separation of Holland and Belgium.

It has been said that if we are parties to the separation of Belguim from Holland, we are guilty of a crime ; but I say that the English Government were not the cause of

this separation ; and after it had once taken place, it was our duty to make the best of the circumstances in which we were placed. We certainly refused to take those steps which were absolutely necessary to secure the possession of Belgium to the King of Holland. I mean the having recourse to military measures. And supposing that we had adopted these steps, it would have been impossible to have receded, and the inevitable consequence would have been that a general war would have been kindled throughout Europe. On the contrary, His Majesty's Government conjointly with the other great powers, have used all their endeavours to preserve peace, and happily they have succeeded in their exertions. This has been the principle on which we have hitherto acted ; and I trust, that as long as we are connected with the administration of affairs, we shall continue to act upon these principles. We have been parties to the separation of Belgium and Holland ; but instead of having been guilty of anything like criminal conduct, we should have been justly liable to such an imputation if we had pursued a different line of conduct. We declared for peace, and determined to pursue such a line of policy as to secure peace, instead of risking the plunging Europe in blood : we did not choose to take upon ourselves the heavy responsibility of involving the nations of Europe in war, and above all, on a matter of principle. It would have been a war of opinion, and the consequences, whatever they might be, would inevitably have been lamentable. We should have been obliged to go on when we once had engaged in it ; and although England might have the

glory of restoring the system of 1815, yet I am confident that we never should recover from the consequences of such a line of policy. When, as I said before, the separation was inevitable, we took the safest course that we could.

Debate on Russian-Dutch Loan. January 26, 1832.

Our relations with Russia with regard to Belgium.

I deny that we have separated ourselves in any degree from Russia, but we have gone hand in hand with her throughout the whole of these proceedings. We have acted in concert with that and the other powers, and we have adopted such a course as to place the peace of Europe on a firm basis. We have laboured with the allies of this country to surmount the greatest difficulties that stood in our way, and have put everything in a satisfactory train. Are ministers now to turn round upon Russia, and exclaim, "It is true we have gone along with you for eleven months in friendly negotiations, with a view of preserving the peace of Europe, and now we have got you to the point, and Belgium is separated from Holland, you must pay us back that money which, in the simplicity of our hearts, was paid you, and we have now the laugh completely against you." I do not know whether gentlemen wish that such a line of policy should be adopted, but I confess that I should be sorry to belong to any Government who would conduct the affairs of the nation upon principles so base and degrading.

Ibid.

Retorts a charge of pursuing a warlike policy.

I well remember that when, some time ago, I took the liberty of pressing on the House my opinions as to the course which we ought to follow towards the Government of Portugal, I was met at every sentence by the cry, "Your voice is for war—we cannot adopt your policy without commencing immediate hostilities." If I were inclined to retort that charge upon the opposition of the present day—if I were to say that the course which they urge ministers to pursue towards France would necessarily terminate in a war with that country—for it could have no other earthly result, God knows what the intentions may be—I should make an assertion which would be better founded in fact than the groundless charge which was formerly brought against myself. I can assure honourable gentlemen, however, that those taunts will have no effect upon the course His Majesty's Government will pursue.

Debate on Mr. Courtney's motion respecting Portugal.
February 9, 1832.

A cordial understanding with France secured.

We are fully sensible of the value of the friendship of so liberal and intelligent a power as France. We hope that we have established on a firm basis peace and amity between England and France. We trust that the days are now gone by when petty feuds and paltry jealousies, and selfish notions of mistaken interests, will have any influence on either Government. The two countries have

too many interests, and, I trust, too many feelings, in common, to allow themselves to be separated by those who are the enemies of free institutions in both; and though ministers are now charged with having been too partial to France in this instance, I hope that the people of England will be convinced, that, without derogating from their interests and from their honour, we have succeeded in making a cordial union with our old hereditary foe, and in pursuing a peaceful course equally honourable to both nations.

Debate on Mr. Courtney's motion respecting Portugal.
February 9, 1832.

Moral Deluges.

There are moral deluges as well as physical; and, on this occasion, my right honourable friend (Mr. Courtney) seems to have been desirous to overwhelm the few circumstances which are relevant to his motion, in the deluge of remarks which are utterly irrelevant to it.

Ibid.

Quarrels promoted by States perpetually asking for explanation.

The honourable Baronet (Sir R. Vyvyan) is always exceedingly careful, whenever he asks any questions relating to foreign affairs, to state, in the most explicit and distinct terms, that he is a lover of peace. He has stated now, that he is unwilling to disturb the peace of Europe, or to see us quarrel with France; but he takes the

strangest way of avoiding a quarrel and preserving peace I ever heard of. He says, "By all means, and for God's sake, keep peace with France ; but do you not think that the honour of England is compromised by the conduct of the French Government ? is it not absolutely necessary for the dignity of England immediately to require explanation upon this and that transaction ?" So that, whilst the honourable Baronet professes to be so anxious to keep peace, he is perpetually endeavouring to persuade the House to goad the Government to proceedings which must lead to discussions of an unfriendly nature.

Debate on a French expedition to Italy. March 13, 1832.

A justification of his policy.

I will only ask the House to look to the state in which Europe was placed at the time when the present Government first came into office. Let the state of Europe, as it then existed, be compared with the state of Europe as it now exists, and then let any one say whether there is not better reason now to reckon on the preservation of the peace of the continent, than there was then. At that former period, there was hardly a man who could assert that he had a reasonable confidence that peace would last for three months longer. Immediately, however, on the accession of the present Government to office, it was stated that one of the chief objects of that ministry was, to preserve the tranquillity of Europe ; that tranquillity has been preserved for fifteen months by the Government ; and whatever the noble Lord may please to anticipate as

to the future, at least he cannot contravene the facts of the past. I, therefore, beg to say, that I do not at all share in the apprehensions expressed by the noble Lord; but, on the contrary, I feel a well-grounded hope—nay, I may say a full expectation, that none of those transactions which are now pending, will cause an infraction of the peace of Europe; and I think I may, with justice, appeal to the period already passed, as some pledge for our peaceful exertions for the future.

Debate on the foreign policy of the Government.
March 26, 1832.

The settlement of Belgium and Holland.

If Belgium was to be separated from Holland, it was necessary to place that country in the situation of an independent kingdom; and this object has been attained by the arrangements which were entered into. I suppose the honourable member for Thetford would not have wished to see a partition of the kingdom of Belgium. Talk of ten years!—it could not have lasted ten months, as I think he will, on reflection, admit; for, if the honourable member remembers the case of Poland, he must know that the word “partition” is disliked by the British people. All I will say on this point is, that the cutting up of the country of Belgium in different portions, for the purpose of adding to the dominions of the neighbouring powers, would have been a most profligate proceeding, and most impolitic on the part of this country.

The question, whether force should be used for the purpose of restoring Belgian to the dominion of Holland, was settled before the present administration came into office. The King of Holland did, at the beginning of the Belgian revolution, call upon his allies to aid him in compelling his revolted subjects to return to obedience; and the last Government most wisely advised His Majesty to refuse giving any assistance of that sort. From that moment the course of the Conference was chalked out, and the only question which remained was, whether the two countries should be joined under one crown, with separate and independent legislatures, in the same way as Scotland and England were before the union, or whether it should be a complete separation, with two sovereigns, as well as two countries. But events occurred which completely decided that question. The unfortunate expedition of the King of Holland against Brussels, and the events at Antwerp, raised the passions and hostility of the people of Belgium, and, from that moment, it became impossible to place the two countries under the same crown.

Well, then, I say, that from the moment it became obvious that the union of the two countries could not, with the free will of both, be effected, and that their separation, therefore, was a matter of absolute necessity, it became the policy of England, if she looked not merely to her own interests, but to the arrangement which would best secure the peace of Europe, to constitute Belgium substantially and really an independent state; and at the same time, to care that the interests of Holland were not sacrificed. It is the policy, and, I may say, the duty

of this country, not to become a party to any arrangement that would sacrifice or be injurious to the interest of Holland.

Debate on the foreign policy of the Government.
March 26, 1832.

*A powerful nation ought to act with forbearance towards
a weak one.*

I am sure the House will feel that forbearance is especially due from a strong power, like England, towards a weak power, like the Brazils. There is nothing like equality of maritime strength between us; and we have it in our power, at any time, to have recourse to force to obtain redress. In such a case, I repeat, more forbearance is due than might be, were the forces of the two parties approaching nearer to an equality. It has not been from any feeling of indifference to the claims of our fellow-countrymen, that our greater power has not been asserted; but from a desire to abstain from having recourse to forcible means, so long as there appeared a possibility of obtaining redress by other methods.

Debate on Mr. Dixon's motion on the Brazilian captures.
April 16, 1832.

*But the weakness of a State does not relieve it of the
responsibility of acting aright.*

My noble friend, the member for Liverpool (Lord Sandon), has urged upon His Majesty's Government the

great importance of our keeping up a proper connexion with these South American States, and he has also said that the course we pursue would induce them to indulge the opinion that because they are weak as compared with this country, therefore they may be permitted to injure us with impunity. Now, certainly, if anything I have said would be at all likely to tend towards creating that impression, I am very happy that my noble friend has given me an opportunity of setting myself right. All I meant to say was this, that a considerable degree of forbearance has been shown; but the course which has been pursued has proved, I should think, that mere weakness cannot carry with it impunity, because the Brazilian Government has been compelled to admit the principle of indemnity; and I stated to the House, that the same menaces which had extorted that admission, would be employed for the purpose of compelling the execution of the arrangement.

Debate on Mr. Dixon's motion on the Brazilian captures.
April 16, 1832.

*The affirmation of Disfranchisement the essence of the
Reform Bill.*

It has been contended that the amendment, on which the division was against ministers, was an amendment of no importance, and that they might have continued in office, notwithstanding their defeat. Now, those who use such an argument, must either be children themselves, or

fancy they are addressing themselves to children. What was the amendment in question? Was it a matter of mere legislative pedantry? If it were so, then I would ask, why did the movers of it so pertinaciously insist upon carrying it? They state that it was a matter of indifference, and of not the least consequence. Now, if it were of importance to ministers, though of no importance to the movers, was it possible for ministers, after a defeat upon it, to imagine that they possessed the confidence of the House of Lords; or, not possessing that confidence, to discharge their functions honourably to themselves, and beneficially to their country? But the proposition embraced by that amendment contained a principle essential to the Bill.

The proposition amounted in plain words to this:—“We will not affirm disfranchisement as a principle; we will not even affirm the amount of disfranchisement to which we will subject the boroughs which now return representatives to the House of Commons. No, we will first affirm enfranchisement.” And, in the name of goodness, why? “Because we may find less—ay, much less disfranchisement necessary than that proposed in the Bill.” There is, therefore, a principle of great importance involved in the success of the amendment; indeed, no less a principle than that of disfranchisement, which is the chief and leading principle of the Bill. Now, to whatever other alterations ministers might have submitted, it is quite clear that to no alteration of that principle could we in any degree assent. They were, therefore, compelled to apply to His Majesty for the means necessary to carry the

principle of the Bill, and, on failing to obtain them, to retire immediately from his service.

Debate on a petition for withholding supplies until the Reform Bill had passed. May 14, 1832.

His opinions on Parliamentary Reform and other questions had changed as he had grown "older" and "wiser."

The right honourable gentleman and gallant member (Sir George Murray) has accused me of having changed my opinions on several great and important questions. I feel that those changes require on this occasion no defence or apology whatever. Indeed, they are now to myself the subject of joy and exultation, for I feel that my alteration of opinion has arisen from no other cause than from my having grown wiser as I grow older.

Ibid.

Office sacrificed to opinion.

It is well known to the House and to the public, that I have twice sacrificed office to my opinions. It may also be known to the right honourable and gallant gentleman (Sir George Murray), that it has also happened that I have declined office, when out of office, because I felt that I could not accept it and act on my own principles and my own convictions.

Ibid.

Justification of the creation of Peers to carry the Reform Bill.

We have been told that ministers were guilty of a violation of the constitution, because we endeavoured to increase the number of the House of Lords. Now, to that charge I plead not guilty. I deny the position of the honourable and learned gentleman (Sir Edward Sugden) *in toto*, and in denying it, I am not afraid to acknowledge that I am joined with my colleagues in giving that advice, which the honourable and learned gentleman denounces as unconstitutional. The creation of a peer is a measure which I admit only extreme circumstances can justify. But that those extreme circumstances have arisen, who can deny? Ministers have found themselves in the House of Lords in circumstances which rendered it impossible for them to hope that they could remain masters of their own measure.

Ibid.

The degree in which the Treaty of Vienna justified our interference in the affairs of Poland.

I beg the House, however, not to suppose that the British Government has been blind to the degree of right which the Treaty of Vienna has given them, to entertain and express an opinion on the recent transactions connected with Poland. I say the degree of right which the Treaty of Vienna gave, because, though Great Britain, as one of the contracting parties, had an undoubted right to express

an opinion on the construction and interpretation of that treaty ; yet, on the other hand, that treaty did not impose immediate and peculiar obligations on this country, independent of the other contracting parties.

Mr. Cutlar Fergusson's motion with respect to Poland.
June 28, 1832.

*The moral or political extinction of Poland impracticable,
and not likely to be attempted.*

As to the idea which seems to be entertained by several gentlemen, of its being intended to exterminate a large kingdom, either morally or politically, if it be seriously entertained anywhere, it is so perfectly impracticable that I think there need be no apprehension of its being attempted.

Ibid.

A rule in the construction of Conventions.

I am sure, Sir, that all who are conversant with public law and public engagements, must feel that nations ought to be much more liberal in their constructions of their own obligations of this kind (the Russian-Dutch Loan), than individuals in the engagements between each other in the ordinary transactions of life.

Debate on the Russian-Dutch Loan. July 12, 1832.

An appeal to the sword.

If one individual is injured by another, the party aggrieved can appeal for redress to the laws of his coun-

try, or to some impartial tribunal, whereas, between nations, the only appeal is to the sword; and I hold it to be the bounden duty of every Government to avoid such an appeal as long as it is possible to do so.

Debate on the Russian-Dutch Loan. July 12, 1832.

The difference between "an imposing attitude" and "an attitude of imposition."

An honourable gentleman remarked that a noble friend of mine at the head of the Government, had recently made use of expressions which filled him with alarm. He remarked that my noble friend said, that the country should place itself in a firm and imposing attitude, and he begged to know what was the meaning of those expressions, and what the events to which they referred. Sir, I think it is unnecessary to do more than look to the various countries of Europe, to see that there may be circumstances which may require, for the dignity, and honour, and interests of this country, that she should take the attitude which my noble friend described; and there is one attitude, however, which I hope the country will never take. An imposing attitude, I trust, she will take, but I trust she will never assume an attitude of imposition; and I do think that it would be to practise an imposition on the Government of Russia, if we sought, by a mean and paltry quibble, to relieve ourselves from obligations which we are bound to fulfil, not only by a consideration of the honour and good faith of the country, but also by a regard for our true political interests.

I remember a distinguished member of this House, Mr. Wilberforce, once said, that England was too honest to have any connection with the continent. I trust the time will never come when England shall, in the opinion of the continent, be too dishonest for mutual intercourse; but my opinion is, that if this House refuses to consent to the act necessary to the continuance of these payments, the honour and the good name of the country would be so tarnished, that I should despair of any useful or beneficial intercourse ever taking place between England and other states of Europe.

Debate on the Russian-Dutch Loan. July 16, 1832.

The principle upon which the Russian-Dutch Loan was maintained.

It is said, however, that it is strange, that at one time Russia is paid for supporting the union of Belgium with Holland, and that at another time she is paid for supporting the separation of those countries. I beg to observe, that the same principle governs the two transactions; the principle in each case being to preserve the balance of power in Europe, and maintain peace among the nations, especially with this country. It appeared, when the former treaty was made, that these objects, and particularly the interests of Great Britain, would be promoted by the union of Belgium with Holland; and this was the policy which ministers then pursued. But in consequence of circumstances, which were explained on a former occasion, that union having been dissolved, not by any act of ours, it is now our

opinion that the interests of England will be best maintained by erecting Belgium into a neutral and independent State.

But then it is said, " You have altered the condition upon which Russia was to be paid the money ; you have changed the contingency upon which the convention is to stand ;" I say we have adopted precisely the same principle as was recognised by the original convention. We have obtained from Russia the assurance, that whatever may be her policy with regard to Belgium, that policy shall be consistent with the interests of Great Britain.

It is obvious, that we could not have made the continuance of the payment of the money depend upon a contingency before it presented itself to our view as being consistent with the principle on which the treaty was founded ; but when we saw that it was only following up the same principle by a new mode of execution, then we were perfectly consistent in adopting it.

Debate on the Russian-Dutch Loan. July 16, 1832.

The same short rules of honour ought to be observed by nations and by private individuals.

This I affirm, because, let who will come into office, no public man will dare to tarnish the honour of this country, by refusing the payment of money which is due from Great Britain to Russia by every consideration of justice and good faith. I am bold to make this affirmation, from the knowledge I have of the high honour and integrity of those who would necessarily succeed to office.

In the course of these discussions appeals have been made to authors of high authority upon matters of this sort. There is one short passage in one of these authors—I mean Vattel—which I will take the liberty to read, because it is extremely apposite to the present question. Vattel, in his chapter on the observation of treaties, says: “The terms of a treaty ought to be equal.” I see those pretended politicians who place all their subtlety, and who think they serve their country best, in circumventing those with whom they treat, interpreting the conditions of a treaty in such a manner, that all the advantage results to their own country. Far from blushing at conduct so contrary to equity, to right, and to national honesty, they boast of their dexterity, and pretend that they deserve the name of great negociators. How long shall public men boast of conduct which would disgrace a private individual? A private man, if he is without conscience, laughs at the rules of morality and right, but he laughs in secret. It would be dangerous and prejudicial to appear to mock at those rules in public.

Shall powerful states abandon openly that which is honest, for that which may appear useful? It often happens for the happiness of the human race, that this pretended utility is fatal to the powers who follow it, and that, even among sovereigns, candour and right are found to be the safest policy. In what did all the subtleties and all the tergiversations of a celebrated minister, on the occasion of a treaty, intimately connected with Spain, terminate? He, by such conduct, produced a result to his own confusion, and to the great injury of his master; while the good faith and generosity of England

towards her allies procured for her immense credit, and elevated her to the highest state of influence and consideration. I say that I am anxious to follow the authority of this writer. If it were possible—which I deny—that we could, by acceding to this motion, relieve ourselves from the payment of this money, it could only be done by the sacrifice of our good faith, and by the abandonment of the honour of the country, which, however plausible may be the appeals that have been made to you, will, I am persuaded, be never regarded by a British Parliament as consistent with either sound policy, or the true interests of the empire.

Debate on the Russian-Dutch Loan. July 16, 1832.

Stability of the New Belgium kingdom predicted.

The honourable member for Thetford has uttered his prophecies. I will set my prophecies against his. I will venture to predict that the present independence of Belgium, founded, as it is, upon national feeling, resting upon national interests, supported by the people, and by a sovereign whom the people have chosen—that sovereign sanctioned and guaranteed by the European powers, and by France, among the others ;—I will venture to predict that that will be found an arrangement more stable and more effectual to its purpose, than the arrangement made in 1815.

Ibid.

Constitutional States our natural allies.

I, for one, am prepared to admit that the independence of constitutional states, whether they are powerful, like France and the United States, or of less relative political importance, such as the minor States of Germany, never can be a matter of indifference to the British Parliament, or, I should hope, to the British public. I consider the constitutional states to be the natural allies of this country; and, whoever may be in office conducting the affairs of Great Britain, I am persuaded that no English ministry will be performing its duty if it is inattentive to their interests.

Mr. H. Bulwer's motion with respect to the Germanic Diet and the German people. August 2, 1832.

The Resolutions of the Germanic Confederacy of temporary and not permanent application.

I can also assure the honourable gentleman (Mr. H. Bulwer) that even without such an address as that which he has proposed, the advisers of His Majesty will deem it their duty to keep their attention fixed on those circumstances which are now taking place on the continent of Europe, never, I trust, undervaluing the deep importance of those circumstances with reference to this country; because, let persons recommend, as much as they will, the propriety of England withdrawing itself from all political connexion with the rest of the world, my opinion is, that as long as our commerce is of importance to us—as long

as continental armies are in existence—as long as it is possible that an overgrown power in one quarter may become dangerous to a power in another—so long must England look with interest on the transactions of the continent; and so long is it proper for this country, in the maintenance of its own independence, not to shut its eyes to anything that threatens the independence of Germany. But, Sir, I cannot bring myself to believe that any one administering the affairs of a great country can take so erroneous a view of its own interests, or of the interests of society, as to wish to deprive these independent States of those constitutional rights which are such a blessing to themselves, and an injury to their neighbours. I cannot believe that such a wish exists where there is a power to carry it into effect; or even if such a wish does exist, I cannot believe that those who have the desire deem it possible for them, in the present state of the world, to carry it into execution. I cannot believe that they can think it practicable, by mere military force, to deprive millions of men of those constitutional privileges which have been formally conceded to them. To believe these things, would be to impute to them a want of knowledge and judgment under which it is impossible to suppose these persons to labour, whose extensive experience must have led them to come to a far different conclusion. I am, therefore, convinced that the intention of these resolutions (however calculated they may be to excite alarm) was merely to guard against those local dangers, the existence of which it is impossible to deny, though I think their magnitude and importance have been greatly exaggerated. Under these circumstances, when the contemplated purpose of guarding

against these local dangers is accomplished, I cannot but believe that those Governments, on whose decision may depend not only the fate of Germany, but the peace of Europe, will have sufficient wisdom to abstain from pursuing the matter to further extremities, and will foresee those perils which their moderation and forbearance may prevent. I cannot but believe, that while, on the one hand, the violent party, which is but small, will abstain from exciting further alarm, so, on the other hand, the Governments will see there can be no advantage in trenching on the rights of the constitutional States, but that their own interests, as well as the interests of all Europe, will be most promoted by the preservation of peace.

Mr. H. Bulwer's motion with respect to the Germanic Diet and the German people. August 2, 1832.

England and Hanover.

The King of England and the King of Hanover act by the advice of their constitutional advisers ; and the advisers of the King of England are no more answerable for any advice given to the King of Hanover, than the advisers of the King of Hanover are for the advice which may be given to the King of Great Britain.

Ibid.

The policy of his Government was interference in the affairs of foreign States by friendly advice and not by force of arms.

I admit that the present Government have pledged themselves to reform, retrenchment and peace, but I do

not recollect that anything was said about non-interference.

MR. COURTENAY. Non-intervention !

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON. I object to that word, as not being English in this sense. Interference is of two kinds, by friendly counsel and advice, or by force of arms. It is no principle of the present Government, nor ought it ever to be that of any Government of this country, to interfere by force of arms, in the internal affairs of other nations ; but I cannot conceive it possible for any government to profess the principle of never interfering by friendly counsel and advice. - Once for all, therefore, let it be understood, that when we talk of the principle of non-interference, we mean that it is not expedient or just to interfere, by force of arms, to make any alterations in the internal condition of a foreign State. On that principle we have uniformly acted, for we have, in no cases, interfered by force of arms, although I admit we have interfered by friendly counsel and advice. Now how stands the case with regard to our interference in Italy ? Serious disturbances having broken out in the Legations, the Pope requested that Austrian troops might be marched into them, which was done. Austria and France both feeling that they had an interest in the affairs of the Papal States, and that they were necessarily brought into immediate discussions with each other, equally requested the Government of England to join itself with them, and endeavour to restore, by friendly counsel and advice, tranquillity in the Roman States.

The Government had no hesitation in complying with this request, but never interfered in the way of dictation,

nor ever intended to interfere by force of arms; nor did we ever threaten such an interference as the consequence of the rejection of our advice.

The only part we took in this transaction was that of a friendly power, which having no direct or immediate interest in the countries to which the disputed questions related, being equally in alliance with Austria and France—the two powers chiefly interested—was called in by them as likely, from our neutral position, to be able to assist in preventing their discussions from leading to a disturbance of the peace of Europe.

Mr. H. Bulwer's motion with respect to the Germanic Diet and the German people. August 2, 1832.

The prosperity of Greece dependent upon that State having a regular Government.

When I say that it is impossible for the Government of Greece to conduct the affairs of that country, at the present moment, without pecuniary assistance, honourable members may infer that the state of Greece is so hopeless, that there is no possibility of its being able to make good the payment of the interest of the loan; and that, consequently, the burden will fall on this country. I deny that proposition, however. What is the state of Greece? For ten years past, that country has been maintaining a contest for independence—has been struggling against a power which might well have overcome the resistance of any people less determined than the Greeks to assert their freedom—it has been the scene of war,

ravaged by the armies of friends and of foes, left with hardly a single roof under which the inhabitants could shelter themselves from the inclemency of the weather—the soil, too, left uncultivated; for the Turkish army devastated and destroyed all that came within their reach. The condition of Greece, in short, is that of a small country which has been the scene of barbarous and exterminating warfare; and yet you are surprised that it does not possess revenues sufficient to defray the expenses of the Government. It is unreasonable to expect it; but give to Greece a regular Government; restore to her the blessings of peace, which will enable her to carry on a lucrative and profitable commerce, and to cultivate the land which is now reduced to the state of a wilderness; and that country will soon possess ample means, not only of defraying the ordinary expenses of the State, but of paying off the loan.

I may draw a comparison between Greece and the Ionian Islands, which resemble each other in many respects. The revenue of the Ionian Islands has been constantly increasing since they were placed under a regular Government. The revenues of Greece, even, have increased within the last year; and I have no doubt, that in the next twelve months, they will be further augmented. At present, there are a great many Greeks, possessing capital, who, in the now uncertain state of their country's affairs, either do not reside in Greece at all, or if they do, are afraid of investing their capital in any manner which could at all conduce to the prosperity of the country. I am convinced, however, that if a Government were established in Greece, that would allow of the develop-

ment of the powers of that country, it would, from the active habits of the people, or from the advantages of its geographical position, which afford it the means of supplying the wants of neighbouring countries: it would, I say, become one of the most prosperous States of its size in the world; indeed, I see no reason why we should not expect to see Greece attain the same degree of commercial prosperity, which was, in former times, enjoyed by Venice and Genoa. This country, so far from having to regret, hereafter, that she gave the assistance of her name and credit (for I venture to say we shall not be called upon to pay a single shilling), in order to set this new kingdom on her legs, will look back to the part which she will have performed with the utmost pride and satisfaction.

Debate on the Greek Loan. August 6, 1832.

High duties a premium on Smuggling.

I contend that these duties, which are absurdly called protecting duties, are, in fact, nothing but disturbing duties; that they divert capital from its most profitable employment; that they check the accumulation of wealth; that they narrow, circumscribe, and destroy the full employment of labour; and that it is for the benefit of the nation to cast away those fetters by which we are still encumbered. Is it not monstrous to suppose that commerce can be unilateral? Surely, the idea of selling without buying is a notion which the slightest knowledge of the transactions of nations will repel as repugnant to common sense. If commerce really consists in receiving

the goods of other countries, and sending our own in return, it is clear that, in proportion as we remove the difficulties on our side, we force other nations, even against their will, to act on those principles of commerce which we hold to be sound. The true encouragers of smuggling, in this country, are those who uphold duties disproportioned to the interests of commerce—those who, by blindly endeavouring to achieve impossibilities, give a premium to the contraband trader. By adopting such a course, we should only be depriving the revenue of that source of income which trade would otherwise afford, and in the end, be robbing the manufacturers of that profit which a free scope of commerce is sure to yield.

Debate upon the condition of the silk trade. August 7,
1832.

Russia not the aggressor upon Persia or Turkey.

The honourable and gallant member (Colonel Evans) has, however, made some remarks on the general conduct of Russia, upon which, thinking myself bound to do impartial justice to all foreign powers—but more especially to those in alliance with us, I must beg leave to make some observations. The honourable and gallant member has represented the conduct of Russia as one of unvarying aggression upon other States, from 1815 to the present time. He adverted, more particularly, to the wars of Russia with Persia and Turkey. Now, having given some attention to the circumstances which led to these two

wars, I am bound to say that Russia was the aggressor in neither of them; and although the result of the Persian war was an aggrandizement of her power, it was not a result of her own seeking. So strongly did the British Government of the day feel this to be the case, that although we had a treaty with Persia which bound us to give her succour in case of war with Russia, that succour was not given, for we contended we had a right to judge of the causes of the war, and that as Persia was the aggressor she had no title to our assistance. Again, in the Turkish war, Russia was not the aggressor; and it can hardly be supposed that the British Government of the day—that the Duke of Wellington, who was certainly friendly to Turkey, would have left her unaided if she had been unjustly attacked. It would be fatiguing to the House to detail all the provocations Turkey offered to Russia; but I believe there cannot be a doubt that she expelled Russian subjects from her territory, detained Russian ships, and violated all the provisions of the treaty of Akerman; and then, upon complaint made, denied redress; so that, if ever there was just ground for going to war, Russia had it for going to war with Turkey. She did not, however, on that occasion, acquire any increase of territory, at least in Europe. I know that there was a continued occupation of certain points, and some additional acquisitions on the Euxine, in Asia; but she had an agreement with the other European powers, to the effect that success in that war should not lead to any aggrandizement in Europe. I think the official situation I hold in this House renders it my duty to state facts like these,

when powers are attacked in our debates, with whom we are in alliance, who profess to be, and whom I believe to be, desirous to be upon the best terms with this country.

Debate on Russia and Poland. August 7, 1832.

Poland commenced hostilities with Russia.

However the question of the right or the wrong of Russia, in her violation of the Polish constitution may be decided, the first act of war proceeded from the Poles, and not from Russia. They who think the Poles were right, will, of course, consider that they only made a justifiable resistance. It is not necessary for me to give an opinion upon that point at present; but I have thought it right to state, as well as I was enabled to do, what the historical fact was.

Ibid.

A few persons eligible to the Throne of Greece.

With reference to the suggestion of my right honourable friend (Mr. Courtenay), that we might have found in this country candidates for the throne of Greece, with royal blood in their veins, I beg to observe that we need not have gone far, not farther, indeed, than the bench now opposite to me, to have found a person not only with royal, but also, at the same time, with imperial blood in his veins; and I confess, Sir, that I cannot help expressing some surprise that my right honourable friend, who is himself descended from a Greek Emperor, should show so little sympathy for

the Greeks of the present day; and that he should, on the contrary, have opposed himself to the present proposition.

Debate on second reading of Greek Convention Bill.
August 8, 1832.

The interests of England and the general interests of Civilization bound up in the Emancipation of Greece.

But, says the honourable gentleman (Mr. Best), what interest have we in this matter? why should we interfere about Greece? and that opinion, I am sorry to say, has been expressed by the honourable member for Middlesex also, who has described our proceedings with respect to Greece, as a Quixotic interference, uncalled for by the interests of this country. That, Sir, is good talk in the year 1832, when the Greeks have been emancipated from Turkish slavery by the arms of the three powers concerned in this convention; but if that language had been held some years ago, when the Greeks were struggling for their independence, and when the whole of Europe was warmly interested in their fate, and when there was hardly a man who did not sympathize with their sufferings, and demonstrate his sympathy by that most indisputable of all proofs, namely, subscribing his money—I say, if such language as we now hear come from the honourable member for Middlesex, had been uttered by any man, that honourable member would himself have been the first to reprobate it with his utmost indignation. We have only to look back at the state of the question when

our interference began, to see that it was the general opinion of Europe, that Europe had an interest in the emancipation of Greece. But taking the merest and vulgarest view of the matter, as one solely of a profit and loss calculation, was it not notorious that our commerce was experiencing continual interruption, and exposed to most serious excesses, from the system of piracy which arose from the struggle, and from the want of a settled Government in Greece? And will the honourable gentleman say that this was not a matter of very serious importance to this country? But I cannot so narrow my views as to judge of a great political question by looking at the two sides of a money account, or even to estimate the merits of the arrangement by the question whether this country may or may not have ultimately to pay any part of the interest of this loan. I cannot think that England, in restoring that nation, be it ever so barbarous now, and be the people as full of faults as you please (and it is very natural that they should be so, seeing that they have lain for centuries in abject slavery, under a people not peculiarly remarkable for intellectual attainments, or their amiable deportment towards their inferiors,) I say, I cannot conceive that England in restoring that country to a state of independence, by which it may again become the seat of civilization, and a living member of the nations of Europe—I cannot, I say, conceive that, in doing this, England has served no interest of her own. The interests of civilization, the interests of commerce, and the interests of political independence are all the interests of England, and all have been signally promoted by the emancipation of Greece. But, I say further, that we had no choice; at least, the

only choice was this, whether we would assist to free Greece in conjunction with Russia and France, or allow Russia to do it alone? I ask whether we ought to have left Russia to settle this question single-handed? If she, unaided, had rescued Greece from the dominion of Turkey, would she not have acquired a paramount claim to the eternal gratitude of the Greeks; and would she not thus have established an influence which would have made Greece practically a Russian province?

Debate on second reading of Greek Convention Bill.
August 8, 1832.

A Queen for Greece.

But the honourable gentleman (Mr. Best) says: "You have given her a boy for a sovereign; and, what is more, you have not established the Salic law; for," says the honourable gentleman, speaking in a country in which in all human probability the next reign will be that of a Queen, "it is impossible Greece can prosper, if at any time the throne should devolve upon a female." I am astonished at this objection of the honourable gentleman. Looking at times past, and at the probability of the time to come—remembering that some of the most glorious periods of our annals have been the reigns of females—I own I am utterly surprised to hear such an objection urged by any gentleman in this House. The honourable gentleman says, "I do not object to a male filling the throne of Greece; but if a female shall ever reign, then there must be a disputed succession." I confess I do not exactly

understand the logic of this argument, nor can I perceive what is the necessary connexion between a disputed succession and a female reign.

Debate on second reading of Greek Convention Bill.
August 8, 1832.

Reasons for choosing King Otho.

It was, in the first place, highly desirable that the person chosen should belong to a reigning house, and that without any prejudice in favour of particular parties; but because it is desirable that the Sovereign of Greece should be connected with some family reigning over a State of some political consequence in Europe. In the next place, the person to be selected should be one who would be able to bring with him adequate means for consolidating the Greek throne. The means I speak of are pecuniary resources, able councillors, and a certain small body of troops. In the first place, then, Prince Otho belongs to a royal family, the most considerable of the second order of the States of Europe: next, he belongs to a country where there exists free institutions; and I think that is important, because I confess I should not have wished the person destined to reign over Greece to come from a country of despotic institutions, and who necessarily would have brought with him (especially if he were a person arrived at man's estate) ideas, as to the forms and principles of Government, inconsistent with those entertained by the nation over whom he was destined to reign.

Ibid.

The nomination of a King by the three powers a necessity.

But the honourable member for Middlesex (Mr. Hume) says he should wish the choice to have been left to the people of Greece, and he seems to think that the Greeks would be better without any King at all. To suppose that, in a nation so divided by party-differences as Greece unquestionably must be, after achieving its independence by individual exertions, rather than by union under one leading chief—to suppose that, in a nation so circumstanced, the people should agree to elect one of themselves to be their King, is to suppose that which is almost impossible. Such a consent can hardly be looked for in any country, but least of all in Greece. But so far from their not wishing to have Prince Otho for their King, I can assure the honourable member that there have been received from all parts of Greece, thanks to the three powers for having selected Prince Otho; and addresses to Prince Otho himself, from most of the principal Greeks, expressing their satisfaction at his appointment, and requesting him to proceed to their country with the least possible delay; for Greece now feels that peace and prosperity can only be obtained upon the arrival of her King.

Debate on second reading of Greek Convention Bill.
August 8, 1832.

The intention of the Holy Alliance.

Now, if I have any understanding of what was the meaning of that combination usually designated by the

term "Holy Alliance," it was an engagement between sovereigns to dispose of nations without their consent, and intended to prevent the *diffusion of free institutions*.

Debate on second reading of Greek Convention Bill.
August 8, 1832.

Difference between the Holy Alliance and the arrangement between the three powers to establish Grecian independence.

Now, nothing can be more entirely different from the objects of the Holy Alliance than the engagement of the three powers to establish the independence of Greece. It was an engagement entered into to support the Greeks, then in a state of slavery, and while the Turks were waging against them a war of extermination—a war in which the utmost bravery, and the sacrifice of everything which makes life valuable, were insufficient to enable the Greeks to contend successfully against their opponents ;—it was an engagement to rescue a country long covered with darkness and immersed in barbarism, and to give it a new existence among the civilized nations of the world ; it was an engagement for converting that country, which had for centuries been a political blank, into what I hope it will some day become,—a centre of civilization—a seat of commerce, a land of happiness and well-regulated freedom. I do, therefore, think that it is impossible to state two objects more entirely different from each other than the purposes

for which the Holy Alliance, as it is called, is supposed to have been instituted, and the purposes of the Greek Treaty of 1826.

Debate on second reading of Greek Convention Bill.
August 8, 1832.

The Law of Embargo.

The right honourable Baronet (Sir Robert Peel) contends, that we have no right to lay an embargo with regard to our foreign relations, except for injuries done to our own subjects, or in contemplation of acts of hostility. He then says, that it is not justifiable to lay an embargo in favour of third parties. I deny that we have laid such an embargo at all. I say that this embargo was laid strictly in furtherance of our own views, and strictly in maintenance of our own engagements. I should like to know what honourable member will undertake to tell me, that the faithful performance of an engagement entered into by the King of England, by a treaty signed and ratified by him, is not a duty connected with the British interests, which he is morally and legally bound to fulfil by every means in his power? I assert that, in the fulfilment of an engagement which, without them, he is prevented from completing, he has a right to resort to the mediatory course of an embargo.

Debate on Dutch Embargo. February 15, 1833.

An Embargo does not imply War.

It has been further said, that although a power may have a right to detain ships in their own ports, they do not possess the right of seizing them on the high seas, and carrying them away ; and yet, Sir, I find that the latter course was adopted in the case of the embargo which was laid on Turkish ships in 1807—in the embargo on Danish vessels in the same year—in the embargo on Russian vessels, also at the same period ; and in the embargo upon American ships in 1812.

In all these cases, not only were the ships of the country against whom the embargo was directed, seized and detained in our ports, but special orders were given to our cruizers to bring in from the high seas all ships under those flags which they might fall in with. * * * Hostilities followed, but none had commenced at the time. In some cases, in which the embargo was laid, war followed ; and in others it did not. The thing speaks for itself. If you declare war against a country, where is the sense of issuing an embargo ?

After declaring war, you issue letters of marque and reprisal immediately. It seems to me absurd to say, that you should declare war one day, and on the next lay an embargo on the ships of the power with whom you are, by your own declaration, at war. * * * To make war complete, there must be two parties. America, certainly, had declared war at the time the embargo was laid on ; but we did not do so for many months afterwards. Again, it is said : “ Issue orders for an embargo pending

negociations? Who ever heard of such a thing?" Why, Sir, what was the ground assigned in our subsequent declaration of war against America? Simply, that whereas the United States of America had declared war, in ignorance of certain concessions made by the English Government, we had hoped to prevail on the Government of the United States to withdraw that declaration. Was that negociation? It certainly was something very like it. If it was not, I know not what negociation is.

But what did England do on the failure of that negociation? Why, it was announced, "that whereas the Government of America had not withdrawn its declaration of war, notwithstanding that we had contented ourselves with merely laying on an embargo, therefore war with America must follow;" and the embargo vessels were thereupon confiscated. The object of this course of proceeding, I submit, is clear. The Government of this country did not wish prematurely to plunge into war, beyond the power of retractation; and therefore they issued an embargo as a precautionary measure. Had the United States met our conciliation by conciliation on her part, the embargo would have been taken off, and there the matter would have ended. I say, therefore, there is nothing incompatible, in the issuing an embargo, with the carrying on negociations, but the contrary. I contend that it is the duty of every country to endeavour, if it be at variance with another power, to mediate in the first instance, especially in a case depending between equal and unequal parties; where the danger is necessarily great on one side, and the triumph comparatively easy on the other. I fully admit that war, in any shape,

is to be avoided as long as may be possible ; and I hold that wherever, in place of deciding a dispute by the sword, measures of mediation may attain the object in view, it is the duty of the parties to resort to mediatory measures.

Dutch Embargo. February 15, 1833.

Conduct of Holland towards England.

Holland has been highly praised by honourable gentlemen opposite, who have reminded us, pretty frequently, of the consideration which is due to our old and faithful ally. Undoubtedly, Sir, nothing can be further from my wish, than to disparage that power ; but I cannot help thinking that she has deserted us, and joined our enemies, at times when she has conceived she could do so with the greatest advantage to herself, and the most injurious consequences to us. What does the honourable and learned gentleman opposite think of the conduct of Holland during the French war ? Does he consider that Holland showed a friendly disposition towards us in relation to our commercial affairs in 1815 ; or in our transactions with Germany, and our communications with the Rhine, since that period ? I apprehend my noble friend cannot entertain such an opinion. * * * I will venture to say, notwithstanding the taunts and sarcasms of honourable gentlemen on the other side of the House, that as long as France and England remain united, they can command the peace of Europe ; and for this reason, because France and England, united, never can, and never will make an unjust war against other countries. One

having a representative chamber like that of France, and the other possessing a House of Commons constituted as this is—it is not in the common course of things that they should be permitted to embark in an unjust war; and I should like to know, where is the confederacy of States which would venture to attack two such powers united? It is impossible to say what the feelings of any foreign nation may be; but it is equally impossible to shut our eyes, entirely, to passing indications of the expectations which Holland may entertain from a turn of affairs, either here or elsewhere, favourable to the views of that power, by bringing about a war in Europe. I have no hesitation in saying, I believe that the reason which induces the Dutch Government to refuse all terms of accommodation is, that it entertains a lurking hope of regaining or subjugating Belgium, an event which it well knows, can only happen from the prevalence of a general state of hostility in Europe. This hope will be entertained so long as either from debates in this or the other House of Parliament, or from the proceedings of the French or English Government, they can indulge in the slightest expectation of a war in Europe.

Dutch Embargo. February 15, 1833.

Conduct of England towards Holland.

Our measures were not intended to interfere with the independence of Holland. It is no part of the policy of this country to weaken Holland, much less to injure her. Our only object has been to complete the separation of

Holland and Belgium, in such a way as to ensure the independence of both nations. I contend that the independence of Belgium, guarded by neutrality, is the best security for the independence of Holland. Now, to secure the independence of Belgium, we must give her the means of being prosperous and happy; and that is all we have thought to accomplish. When we have attained our object, I will venture to say, that our arrangement will have made more for the benefit of Holland than any other which could have been derived from her interests or her security.

Dutch Embargo. February 15, 1833.

Military Flogging: difficulty of finding a substitute.

In the abstract, I admit that corporal punishment of any kind is objectionable. I do not stand here to advocate corporal punishment as being good in itself. I admit, to every gentleman, that it must naturally have the effect, in some degree, of depraving the mind of the person upon whom it is inflicted. I admit that it is the mind, and not the body alone, which is subject to the consequences of this punishment; and therefore, if any other could be devised, which would in an equally prompt manner act upon the mind without in this particular way operating upon it through the feelings of the body, I should be prepared to agree to the substitution of that mode of maintaining the discipline of the army. * * * What are the substitutes which have been proposed? One honourable gentleman tells us that solitary imprisonment would be productive of good results; and an instance is given of a case which

occurred in one of the Ionian Islands, where the solitary imprisonment of one man produced a most beneficial effect on the whole garrison. But, let me ask how is it possible, when you are dealing with a large army scattered over an immense tract of country, that you can always have at hand the means of solitary confinement? I remember, when I was Secretary-at-War, on examining on one occasion the returns of the punishments at the Horse Guards: I found that sixteen men were sentenced to solitary imprisonment for different periods. Now, where does the House suppose these sixteen men were undergoing their sentence? Why, they were all confined together—together—in the cabin of a hulk on the Thames, sixteen feet long by six wide; and in this way these sixteen gentlemen were undergoing their sentence of solitary confinement! Solitary confinement, to be really such, would be productive of so much expense in the construction of adequate apartments in barracks, that I am sure it would not be very likely to meet with the support of the honourable member for Middlesex (Mr. Hume). There are, at present, different degrees of severity connected with drill, and various other matters of internal regulation, which are practised to a great extent. I assure the honourable Baronet, who appears to think that this punishment of flogging is, in all cases, resorted to in the first instance, that I believe the contrary to be the fact. Indeed, I believe that it is very much owing to the attention which the honourable Baronet himself has drawn to the subject, not only on the part of Government, but on the part of the army also, that this punishment has of late years been very considerably reduced.

I believe I am speaking the truth when I say, that

so far from its being the first method of enforcing discipline which is applied to, it is now only resorted to in cases where other descriptions of punishment have failed in producing the desired effect. * * * The honourable gentleman (Mr. Carter) has proposed to govern the army, and to increase the vigour of the men, and the efficiency of the army, by punishing offenders by starvation—an economical plan certainly, as it would not only punish offenders, but save the country the expense of feeding them. Now, Sir, I have seen the old maxim, "*fas est ab hoste doceri*," applied to an enemy; but, however well it may suit a foe, I do not think that this is the way to increase the efficiency of the British army, nor can I exactly say how they would be disposed to regard these abstinences and fasts which the honourable gentleman behind me thinks would be a proper substitution for flogging. * * * What has been the practice of foreign nations—of France, for instance? It has been said that the French army was kept during the war in a state of the greatest discipline—discipline, as the honourable and learned member for Dublin said, which led them to victory without the infliction of corporal punishment. Why, this is a mere play upon words, because they certainly did without that species of corporal punishment which existed in the British service; but every man who knows—and I appeal with confidence to those gentlemen in our service who do know—the practice of the French army, will at once admit that the infliction of corporal pain, without a court-martial, and at the arbitrary will of the officers, did take place to a very great extent in the armies of Napoleon, in which

shooting was common to a degree that, I am persuaded, would astonish many honourable gentlemen. I ask, is any man prepared to say, that in the British army, the offences which are now punished by the lash, ought to meet with the punishment of death? I cannot admit that the comparison can tend to the advantage of the French service; for, however distinguished the gallant conduct of that army in the field—however frequently they were led on to victory against their enemies—still, I must say, that discipline in their own country, or good behaviour towards the civil inhabitants, was not the reputation of the armies which served under the standard of Napoleon. So strong, indeed, was the contrast, that when the troops crossed the Pyrenees, and entered the southern provinces of France, the French people themselves in relation to their treatment by our soldiers, observed, that though they entered their country as invaders, they treated them as if they were their defenders. In foreign services, infinitely greater punishments are inflicted than in ours, although in a different way. In Russia, a practice formerly existed, which has been since partially abolished, as the punishment is now only inflicted in extreme cases, whereas it was formerly resorted to pretty generally, of confining a man in a room not high enough for him to stand up in, and which instead of being boarded, was paved with spurs, with their sharp ends upwards; so that he could neither stand, because there was no room, nor lie down, because it was too painful to do so. This punishment was so severe, that no man could continue alive under its infliction, when it was carried on beyond a certain number of hours.

When we are told that in foreign countries this particular punishment is not resorted to, we ought to remember that other punishments are adopted, which, if they were introduced here, would excite almost as much abhorrence as that which is now sometimes, but, as I contend, rarely, inflicted in our service.

Debate on Military Flogging. April 2, 1833.

Military Flogging.—Feeling of the Soldiers.—General argument on its necessity.

An honourable friend of mine has said, that soldiers, when they go on foreign service, are subjected to more arbitrary jurisdiction than they are at home; and that *primâ facie* they would be reconciled to this proposition. I am ready to believe, Sir, that such is the gallantry of British troops, that there is no additional severity which would influence their feelings, or detract in the least from their alacrity when called upon to take the field against an enemy. But that is not the question—the question is, whether the British army is to be so constituted, that while the men are told that they are to be subjected to this punishment when they go to the colonial stations, which is the most irksome part of their duty, and the longest period of their service (because, in consequence of the small amount of our army compared with the range of territory over which it is distributed, the duties are very heavy), they shall also be told that that part of the army which remains at home is to be exempted from this

punishment. It appears to me that nothing could be less expedient; and if the question were, whether this proposition should be adopted, or whether there should be a general exemption from this punishment, I really believe that it would be better to abolish the punishment altogether, than to make this mischievous, and I will say, fatal distinction. We are told, that if this punishment were abolished, men would enter more freely into the ranks, and that we should get a better description of men to enter the service. I never knew that when we required men, we failed in getting the requisite number. I believe it is more the particular circumstances in which a man stands, at the moment, that influence his choice of a military life, than these complicated considerations of discipline. But, Sir, it is said that there are examples to prove that this punishment has very considerably diminished. Cases have been quoted in which officers in the exercise of their judgment, and by their attentive and discreet mode of commanding their men, have been enabled for a certain time to dispense with the infliction of this punishment. Now, in first place, I ask, does it follow that if the power of inflicting this punishment had not existed, they would have been able for so long a time to withhold the exercise of it? I must confess I doubt it; but then, I say, these cases are exceptions which, instead of subverting the rule, tend rather to prove it. What is said by those honourable gentlemen who advocate the abolition of this punishment? Why, they tell us, that if officers in the army were only to take the trouble of making themselves better acquainted with their men—if they were only disposed to share the same shelter—to rest beneath the same tree,

and to bivouac in the same field—if they would partake with their men all the inconveniences, all the dangers, and all the difficulties incidental to a military life, they would gain such an ascendancy over their minds, that they would be enabled to govern them by the mere force of moral influence, without any punishment whatever. Why, if we were considering what was to be done with respect to regiments fortunate enough to have such officers as my noble friend near me, or those who have been alluded to, we might, perhaps, be enabled to dispense even with the power of inflicting this punishment. But, Sir, we are not now legislating for any particular officer—but for the whole army; we must take the chance of all the different officers, and of the dispositions of the men; and therefore I do say, that it would be a most fatal mistake if we were to be run away with by one or two examples, and to draw from hence the conclusion, that the power of inflicting this punishment might be altogether taken away. What was the instance quoted by an honourable gentleman opposite? Why, it appears that in one particular instance, when it was endeavoured to abolish this punishment, the privates began to knock down the non-commissioned officers like so many nine-pins; and that they were eventually obliged again to resort to corporal punishment. I say, therefore, that neither the example of foreign armies, nor of our own, leads me to suppose that the motion of the honourable member for Middlesex, is one which it would be safe to adopt.

Debate on Military Flogging. April 2, 1833.

Insurance of Foreign Ships by British Insurers against embargo illegal.

The honourable member said, that the greater portion of the Dutch ships detained in our ports are insured by British insurers. It is not for me to dispute this statement of the honourable gentleman; but I believe that I shall be born out in saying, and there are those in this House who can correct me if I am wrong, that the insurance of a foreign ship by a British subject, against detention or capture by ships of His Majesty, is an illegal transaction, and contrary to the constitution of the country. I say, therefore, that if any British subjects place themselves in a situation opposed to the exercise of the undoubted prerogative of the King, in insuring from capture or detention the ships of foreign States, being the King's enemies, or those with whom His Majesty is not in amicable intercourse—they cannot come to this House and ask relief from the consequences of those illegal acts, which, as British subjects and as patriots, they ought to have avoided! * * * If His Majesty, acting on the suggestion of his responsible advisers, subject, of course, to the opinion of Parliament, thinks it necessary for the honour of the country, to have recourse to hostile operations against another State, it is illegal for any British subject to interpose, and throw his shield over the subjects of that State.

Debate on Dutch Embargo. May 13, 1833.

Opinion on Protection in 1833.

The corn law is not so advantageous to the agricultural interest as the members of that body are led to believe it is. My interest is bound up with the prosperity of agriculture, and speaking as an agriculturist, I have no hesitation in saying I do not think that what is called the protective system is so indispensable to the welfare of the landed interest as they suppose it to be. That is the opinion of my noble friend and myself; but I defy any man fairly to draw from the expression of that opinion the conclusion that we are prepared to effect a change in the existing system. I am further prepared to state, that I do not concur in many of the arguments by which, generally, the system of protection is defended. I do not, for instance, perceive the force of the argument, that it will be dangerous for this country to depend on foreign countries for the supply of food. A great portion of the population of a manufacturing country must depend upon foreign countries for the means of subsistence; for if the foreign market be cut off, the manufacturers will be deprived of the commodities or money which they receive in exchange for the produce of their labour.

House of Commons. . May 17, 1833.

Courtesy of British Consular Agents.

As far as my own knowledge goes, I do not think that our diplomatic agents or consuls have, in any degree, deserved to have imputations cast upon them as to any want

of diligence or courtesy. If, indeed, any such instances were brought under my notice, it would be met by me, as having the honour to be at the head of the Foreign Department (without reference, the honourable member for Kilkenny county will permit me to observe, to the honourable member for Middlesex), by a strict inquiry into the circumstances ; and by such an admonition, on the charge being substantiated to the party offending, that I am quite sure similar conduct would not be repeated. In justice, however, to those gentlemen who are employed under me in those very responsible situations, I beg to add, that I feel myself fully justified in stating, that they have not shown any other than a disposition to render every assistance and courtesy to such travellers as may require their counsel or assistance.

House of Commons. June 3, 1833.

British neutrality in Portugal.—Principle of the Foreign Enlistment Act.

But it is said, that we have not adhered rigidly, and in good faith, to the neutrality to which we pledged ourselves, and I must say, that I think I never heard an accusation more peculiarly unfounded than that. I believe it is not even contended—for no man has ventured to assert—that any act has been done by the Government of this country in any stage of the proceeding, at all inconsistent with its neutrality between the two parties. It has not been even alleged, that the Government of this country has sent out any ships, or men, or arms to the aid of Donna Maria,

or to the prejudice of the other side. But it is contended that Government has taken no steps to prevent the individual subjects of the State from embarking in a cause which happened to be congenial to the feelings of the people of this country. Sir, I say, in the first place, that the principle of embarking in the contests of other countries has prevailed and been acted upon in the brightest periods of our history. It is unnecessary to remind the House of the active part which was taken in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by English subjects, in the contest then carried on in the Low Countries. It is equally unnecessary to remind the House of the enlistment of a large body of men, in the reign of James I. to serve upon the continent; and of the still larger body which went out in the reign of Charles I., and in both cases the levies were by express permission of the Government of this country—to serve in the army of Gustavus Adolphus. In short, in every war which has taken place in Europe, British subjects have, to a greater or less extent, served on that side whose cause was most congenial to their feelings, from the earliest period of our history down to the present time. But it has been said, that where there is a law to prevent it, it is the duty of the Government to enforce that law, and to punish the offenders who disregard its provisions. I presume no one will deny that these two Acts of the reign of George II. were in force at the period when the French Revolution broke out. At that period, Sir, there was an Irish Brigade serving under the King of France. Let us see what was the conduct of that brigade, and what was the conduct of the British Government. When the Republic was declared in France, that brigade quitted the

service of the French King, and came over to this country ; when, instead of inflicting on these men the severe penalties authorized by law, His Majesty's Government formed out of them the regiments of Fitzjames, Conway, and O'Connell ; by the strict letter of the law, be it remembered, they were liable to the punishment of death. But we are then told, Sir, that the Foreign Enlistment Act alters the case ; and that, at all events, we have the power of issuing a proclamation to prevent individual subjects of His Majesty from entering into foreign service, or of recalling them if they have gone abroad.

Now, Sir, the right honourable Baronet read a proclamation which was issued in 1825, when Mr. Canning was in office, for the purpose of calling back subjects of His Majesty engaged in foreign service ; but I would ask the right honourable Baronet, whether he does not know that it was perfectly futile and ineffectual, and that many British subjects continued to serve in the Greek army, after the issuing of that proclamation. In point of fact, it was a mere dead letter. There were not many persons, however, engaged in that contest ; but I will beg to remind the right honourable Baronet of the previous proclamation of 1817, prohibiting any British subjects from serving in the Spanish American colonies. I would beg leave to ask, what was the effect of that proclamation ? It is an important question, as connected with the enforcement of the law, because it is conceived, that the issuing of that proclamation in the present case might have prevented an invasion of Portugal, by the fleet that has been so often referred to ; and I will take the effect of that former proclamation from the description which was

given by Lord Castlereagh and Lord Bathurst. Lord Castlereagh stated, when the Foreign Enlistment Act was proposed in this House, as the ground on which he introduced it, the total inefficacy of the proclamation issued in 1817. He stated that, "in spite of that proclamation, not regiments only, but he might almost say entire armies, had been levied, organized, drilled, and equipped in this country, and sent out fully armed, and prepared for war." Lord Bathurst made the same statement, and added, moreover, that it had been intimated to all officers on half-pay, that they were not to embark on foreign service, but that they had persisted in doing so, utterly unmindful of the forfeiture of their half-pay, which was consequent upon their entering into the South American service. So the proclamations to our subjects in general, and to our officers on half-pay, have been equally and entirely ineffectual.

House of Commons. June 6, 1833.

Duty of Russia towards Poland.

It is perfectly true, as stated by my honourable friend, that the kingdom of Poland is not an ancient part of the Russian empire—the claim of Russia to the possession of Poland is not of old right; but bears the date of the Treaty of Vienna, and is founded on the sanction of Europe. The British Government, therefore, feel that, as one of the contracting parties to that treaty, they have a right to entertain and express an opinion on any act which, in their opinion, tends to a violation or a departure

from the stipulations into which they entered with the other contracting parties. The first article of the Treaty of Vienna says, that the kingdom of Poland is inseparably united to the Russian empire by its Constitution, and if I were called upon to interpret the meaning of the article, I would say that its true intent and spirit are, that the Constitution, whatever it might be, which was to be given to Poland in pursuance of this article, was the connecting link between that nation and Russia. I certainly am one of those who think that the Constitution which was given by the Emperor Alexander to the kingdom of Poland, in pursuance of and after the execution of the Treaty of Vienna, must be considered as resting on the sanction of that treaty, and that therefore Russia is bound in good faith to preserve to Poland the continuance of that Constitution. I do not think that the revolt of the Poles absolved the Russian Government from the obligations which, I contend, are imposed upon it by the treaty.

In the first place, I am not prepared to admit that the revolt of a people—but be it remembered that the Russian Government always maintained in its proclamations that the revolt in Poland was partial and not participated in by the whole nation—will entitle a sovereign, after having re-established his authority, to abrogate their Constitution. I should therefore, say, that if the matter lay simply between Russia and Poland, and no other parties were concerned in the question, I do not think the Polish revolt (even after the Poles had taken the uncalled-for, and, in my opinion, unjustifiable step, of not merely asserting their rights, and claiming the maintenance of the privileges guaranteed them,

but declaring the dethronement of the Emperor)—justified the Russian Government in abrogating the Constitution after the authority of the Emperor was restored. In this case, however, there are other parties concerned besides Russia and Poland. The Treaty of Vienna, which assigned Poland to Russia, considered that annexation as a measure bearing upon the interests of Europe generally, and therefore all the parties to that treaty are interested in the relation in which Poland should stand to Russia. On that ground, therefore, the contracting parties to the Treaty of Vienna had a right to require that the Constitution of Poland should not be touched—and this was an opinion which I have not concealed from the Russian Government. I communicated it by anticipation to that Government previous to the taking of Warsaw, and before the result of hostilities was known; and when Warsaw fell, and Poland was placed at the disposal of Russia,—but before any definite arrangement had been made, that opinion was again distinctly conveyed to the Russian Government. The Russian Government, however, took a different view of the question. They contended, that by the re-conquest of Poland, the Emperor was placed in the same situation in which he stood after the Treaty of Vienna, and before the granting of a Constitution to Poland, and that he was at liberty—the previously existing institutions having been swept away, as they contended, by the revolution—to determine by what sort of institutions they should be replaced.

House of Commons. July 9, 1833.

England's non-interference between Russia and Poland defended.

And I cannot but think that the House, however they concur in the explanation of the meaning of the Treaty of Vienna contained in the resolution of my honourable and learned friend, and however they may lament the fate of Poland, will be of opinion, on a calm, deliberate, and dispassionate view of the then state, and I may also say, the present state of Europe, that it would not have been judicious for the British Government to have taken a step which must have led to a general war, in the hope and expectation of rescuing Poland from destruction. I repeat that a general war must have taken place if England had interfered by arms ; because, on one side there were Russia, Austria, and Prussia entertaining one opinion ; and, on the other, England and France were united in a different interpretation. Austria and Prussia were both in possession of Polish provinces, and both were interested, or believed themselves interested (which is much the same thing), in establishing the interpretation put by Russia on the treaty. And what was the state of the disposable army of these powers ? Russia had an army in Poland, against which the Poles were scarcely able to make head ; Austria had an army on the Austrian frontier of Poland ; while Prussia had concentrated her forces on the Russian frontier ; and if the British Government had wished to make the fate of the Poles certain, and to involve them in a contest with forces so superior as to render resistance on their part for a week impossible, they had nothing to do but to declare

that they would, by force of arms, compel Russia to maintain the Constitution of Poland. I, therefore, think that the British Government has acted wisely and properly in reference to the interest of the Poles themselves, in contenting itself with the expression of its sentiments on the subject.

House of Commons. July 9, 1833.

The Emperor of Russia not absolute.

The Government of Russia is, to be sure, an arbitrary one; but I cannot imagine any form of government which would render one man at its head paramount and all-powerful. The despot depends as much on the opinion by which he is supported, as the sovereign of a constitutional government. The only difference is—and the difference for the present argument is not immaterial—that, under a constitutional government, the sovereign is supported by the opinion of the many, whilst, under a despotic government, he depends on the opinion of a few. But the latter is not the less, on that account, forced, on many occasions, to yield to the opinion of those by whom he is supported, as the sovereign of a free country is obliged to yield to the opinion of the nation at large;—and I am persuaded, that where cases of undue severity on the part of the Russian Government to the Poles have occurred, we may set them down as proofs that the power of the Emperor of Russia is practically limited; and we may take it for granted, that the Emperor has, in those instances, yielded to the

influence of others, rather than followed the dictates of his own spontaneous feelings.

House of Commons. July 9, 1833.

Policy of England as to Turkey.

I have no hesitation in saying, that it is of the utmost importance for the interest of England, and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe, that the territories and provinces forming the Ottoman Empire should be an independent State. Whether the inhabitants of this large empire are Mohammedans or Christians—would to God that they were Christians—is not the question, for these matters must be dealt with in reference to political, and not to religious motives; but if Russian conquest should lead to the christianizing and civilizing the inhabitants of that country, these advantages—and no one can estimate them higher—would be counterbalanced by the consequences that would result to Europe from the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. I say, then, that undoubtedly Government would feel it to be their duty to resist to the utmost any attempt on the part of Russia to partition the Turkish Empire; and, if it had been necessary, we should equally have felt it our duty to interfere and prevent the Pacha of Egypt from dismembering any portion of the dominions of the Sultan. The integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire are necessary to the maintenance of the tranquillity, the liberty, and the balance of power in the rest of Europe.

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If the Russian Government were to attempt the partition of the Turkish Empire, although undoubtedly it would gain great advantages from the acquisition of some of the provinces of that Empire, still it would incur great disadvantages. I confess I entertain great doubts whether any intention to partition at all enters into the present policy of the Russian Government. Besides, I very much doubt whether the Russian nation—properly so called—would be prepared to see that transfer of the government and authority to the southern provinces, which would be the necessary consequence of the conquest of Constantinople to Russia, and the annexation of the Turkish provinces to the Russian Empire. I think, then, I have a double security,—in the first place, in the good faith of Russia; and, secondly, in the doubt I entertain, whether it enters into the policy of Russia at present to accomplish this object. It is clear that such an event could not occur without leading to a general war in Europe; for other Powers are as much, if not more, interested than Great Britain in preventing such aggrandizement of the power of Russia. I, therefore, contend that sound policy, good faith, and every other circumstance, would induce the Russian Government to abandon such a course, if it had the inclination to pursue it.

House of Commons. July 11, 1833.

*Desire of the Whig Government to maintain
the peace of Europe.*

The British Government feel that the maintenance of the peace of Europe is an object of the greatest import-

ance ; and, as far as the Government of this country is concerned, without minding the taunts thrown out as to our pacific policy, we shall do our utmost to preserve the peace of Europe. I will not notice the taunts that have been uttered by some gentlemen in this House on various occasions, when questions of foreign policy have been discussed, on account of the good understanding which exists between this country and France, as if we had sacrificed the honour of the country to keep on good terms with that power. Such an insinuation as the latter, I need not say is false and unfounded ; but, so far from my thinking it a matter of reproach, that we are on good terms with France, I shall always reflect with feelings of pride and satisfaction on the circumstance that the relations between the two countries have been much improved, and materially altered in their character since the present administration came into power. On the other hand, I utterly repudiate the idea, that this country trembles at the power of Russia. We certainly wish to be on friendly terms with Russia, not only because we have interests in common, and because we have every motive to be on good terms with that power ; but also, because the consequences of war may be nearly as disastrous to the conquering as to the unsuccessful power. At the same time, we never will consent to purchase the friendship of Russia by the sacrifice of the least portion of the honour of the country ; I say, that His Majesty's Government attach every importance to the maintenance of peace ; for the effect of war is to retard the progress of society and civilization, and to put a stop to all improvement—the inevitable consequences of war are such,

as to make it of the utmost consequence to this country to prevent it. The taunt, however, of being afraid of war is puerile; and I defy any man to show that we have made any sacrifice of the honour, or the interests of the country, for the sake of preserving peace. At the same time, I consider that the maintenance of peace, notwithstanding the remarkable events which have happened, is a circumstance to be regarded with pride and satisfaction. England wishes for peace, but is not afraid of war. I agree with the honourable gentleman, that, if we were called upon to take up arms in vindication of our honour, no country in Europe is likely to suffer less from a war than this country.

I say this, because it is the just pride and boast of England, that wealth accumulates rapidly here, owing to the Constitution we enjoy, and the enterprise of her people; and thus we are enabled to increase in strength, after extraordinary exertion, more rapidly than other nations. The very incapacity of other nations is an additional security to the peace of Europe. The honourable gentleman has complained that there is a war against opinion and principle going on at present, and he referred to Italy, Poland, Germany, Belgium, and even Egypt. However much I may regret the course pursued by the governments of other countries to put down liberal opinions, I am sure that neither this House, nor the country, would support a Government who should go to war for abstract principles.

House of Commons. July 11, 1833.

Opinion of Protective Duties.

Now I do not think that we are entitled to find fault with foreign Governments, because they are not so enlightened on this subject as we are, nor have adopted a liberal commercial policy, seeing that it is only very recently we have done so ourselves. At the same time, I have no hesitation in stating, that although I do not think that there is any advantage derived to a country from protecting or restrictive duties; and though I think that any restriction on commerce is as injurious to the country imposing it as it is to the country against which it is imposed; yet, if any country chooses to enter into a fiscal war with us, and to lay high restrictive duties either against the produce of our soil, or against the produce of our skill and industry, it may neither be a wise nor a politic thing to try the effects of a retaliatory system which, though it may be injurious to the other country, must be still more injurious to ourselves. I consider that the effect of these restrictive measures on the part of other countries, cannot be productive of such evils to the commerce of England as perhaps many persons imagine. These restrictive measures may prevent other countries from taking our manufactures; but then, if they prevent the introduction of articles of British manufactures, our merchants will not be able to take their produce. These attempts, then, to cripple our commerce must prove injurious to their own if they are effectual; but if they are ineffectual, there is an end to the argument, and we escape the injury intended to be inflicted on us. If, among

foreign Governments there are those who imagine that they can injure our commerce by exposing it to high duties, still, so long as there are men in this House, of high reputation, who sincerely believe that protecting duties are of advantage to our own artizans, and our own productions, it ought not to be a matter of surprise that those Governments should adopt their arguments—that they should follow our precepts rather than our practice, and that they should linger on in the old region of error, which we ourselves have but recently abandoned.

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Nothing is more common than to say, “Your theories about free trade and liberal principles of commerce are all very good applied to a new State, but are impracticable in an artificial state of society like that which exists in England. It may be all good in a country, not overloaded with debt and taxation, to let commerce be carried on at the least possible expense; but if you have a great amount of debt to provide for, and a large sum to raise annually for the payment of the interest of that debt, then the logical inference is, that you must shackle your commerce, you must paralyze your industry, you must cripple your relations with foreign States; and thus, by imposing protective duties on the commodities produced in foreign countries, which duties go as bounties to those who produce the same commodities in your own country, you make everything dearer than its natural price.” So therefore, the argument of the honourable member resolves itself into this,—that because you have a great debt to provide for, you must levy upon your people a

tax, and a heavy tax, too, for everything which they get from foreign countries; or, in other words, you must prevent them from buying as cheap as they can, and of course prevent them, in the next place, from selling as cheap as they can. This is a simple explanation of the common doctrine, that the principles of free trade may do very well in an infant country, but that they will not do for an old and artificial state like England. I will not say more, than that I do not intend to object to the motion of the honourable member, and that His Majesty's Government are alive, to use the honourable member's own words, to all the circumstances of the case; they are anxious to do everything in their power for the promotion of British commerce, for they are persuaded that it is impossible to render a more beneficial service to the country than extending to the remotest parts of the world the benefits of commerce.

House of Commons. August 15, 1833.

Spain and Portugal.

The right honourable Baronet (Sir R. Peel) next observes, that it is in consequence of the policy pursued by this country in interfering with Portugal, that the civil war in Portugal has extended to Spain. Now I think I proved, when the question was specifically before the House, that we have not interfered in the affairs of Portugal; and any one who has attended to the course of events in Spain, must acknowledge that the civil war there has nothing whatever to do with the affairs of

Portugal; that arises solely from a state of things existing in Spain itself.

Debate on the Address. February 4, 1834.

Negro Emancipation.

The right honourable Baronet, in speaking of the act passed last session for the abolition of slavery, appeared still to doubt its successful result; but I would only beg the House to observe how fully accomplished all the predictions have been which the advocates of that great measure ventured to pronounce, and how completely falsified have been those predictions which told us to expect from it a general rising of the slaves against the masters, and an arming of the masters against the slaves. So far from any of the prophesied evils having occurred, we perceive that the good sense of the colonists has induced them immediately to set to work to carry the intentions of the legislature into effect as rapidly as possible.

Ibid.

The Corn Laws.

Certainly, if I am to understand this question as leading to the affirmation which the honourable member for Middlesex has omitted in the motion as it now stands, but which was included in the first notice, namely, the establishment of a perfectly free trade in corn, without

any duty whatever—to such a proposition I should be decidedly opposed, because I think that such a proposition would be fraught with injustice to the interests of a large and important class of the community, and would not be founded upon the true principles of policy. Taking the motion of the honourable gentleman as it now stands, merely as being a proposition to go into committee to consider of the propriety of diminishing, to a certain degree, the protection now afforded to the growers of agricultural produce, either by reducing the present graduated scale, or by substituting for that scale a fixed duty, I should be disposed to agree with my noble friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in stating that, upon that question, taken in the abstract, my opinion is not adverse to a diminution of that protection. I think that such a diminution, if it were gradual, and not too great, would not be attended with injury to the agriculturist, on the one hand, but on the other hand, it would not produce the expected benefit to the manufacturing labourers; because I do not think it would be followed by any considerable diminution in the price of corn. Looking, however, at the circumstances at the present time, seeing that, under the law as it now stands, prices have been low—have been steady—seeing that the commercial and manufacturing interests are thriving, that there is no want of employment for manufacturing labourers, and no want of a market for manufactured produce; seeing, on the other hand (as is admitted on all sides), that the agricultural interests are suffering under considerable distress, I am decidedly adverse to entertaining, at present, such a proposition as that of the honourable member for Middlesex.

And I will go further, and say this, that even if I expected that good might ultimately be looked for from the adoption of such a proposition, it would be much better that it should be introduced in the shape of a bill which would be tangible, and could be discussed with an immediate result, than to disturb the agricultural and commercial transactions of the country, and to keep the mind of all parties in a state of suspense and anxiety, by entering into an inquiry which would necessarily occupy a considerable portion of time, and might lead to no decision during the present session.

House of Commons. March 7, 1834.

The relations between France and England.

The relations at present subsisting between England and France are, as the honourable and learned gentleman said, more intimate, more confidential, and more friendly, than I believe they ever were at any former period of our history. I hail this as a matter of pride and satisfaction; for I think it is a proud thing for these two countries to have divested themselves of those feelings of jealousy and enmity, which, for so long a period, impeded the advancement, and interfered with the best interests of both; and to have cemented a friendship—now of some years' duration—which has only grown stronger, and more lasting with time, in proportion as the two Governments have become better acquainted with each other. This is a matter of pride, and it is a matter of satisfaction, because it proves that that mutual friendship

is founded on mutual honour and good faith. It is obvious that such a union cannot exist longer than is consistent with the interests of both countries; but when two such States are bound together, not only by the ties of interest, but by the bonds of integrity, confidence and honour, the House may well consider, that they must form in Europe a power of no mean importance; and as, from the very constitution of both, that power cannot be exercised, except for the general benefit and interest of society, their union, so far from being an object of jealousy to any other power, ought, on the contrary, to inspire Europe with increased confidence in the maintenance of peace, and in the promotion of the happiness and prosperity of all other nations.

House of Commons. March 17, 1834.

British reasons, among others, for despatching a fleet to the Dardanelles.

The honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Sheil) will, I am sure, excuse me for not exactly informing him why the British fleet went to the Dardanelles, why from thence to Smyrna, what it did there, and why it went back from Smyrna to Malta. I can assure him it was sent to the Dardanelles for good reasons, that it went to Smyrna for equally good reasons; and I can assure honourable and learned gentlemen that it was for equally good reasons, but for British reasons only, that it was sent back from Smyrna to Malta.

Ibid.

Confidence in the Foreign Office necessary.

So long as Parliament shall think that any Government is fit to administer the affairs of this country, they are bound to repose confidence in it with regard to our foreign relations. If they think that the interests of the country cannot safely be confided to such keeping—if, in the present case, they are not willing to trust us with the maintenance of the honour of the country, without calling upon us, from day to day, to come down to this House, and produce the last despatches we have received, for the purpose of enabling them to judge whether our answers to those despatches are right or wrong—if such, I say, be the opinion of the House, let them declare it, and let his Majesty's Ministers retire; but so long as they think the Government fit to be entrusted with the affairs of the country, so long, I am sure, they will agree with me, that it is improper to force them to produce a diplomatic correspondence, the production of which, in their opinion, would be detrimental to the interests of the country.

Ibid.

The Rule to be observed in giving public relief to political refugees.

It is impossible for any one to touch on the subject to which this petition relates, without expressing those feelings of deep interest and sympathy for the unfortunate objects of the petition, which every man of a generous nature

naturally entertains ; but it is one thing to entertain those feelings, and to give expression to that interest, and another for men standing in the responsible situation of Ministers of the Crown, to propose to Parliament any appropriation of the public money for purposes of this kind. It is, therefore, not consistent with my duty to hold out to the House, and to the gallant member for Westminster, any expectation that his Majesty's Government will feel themselves at liberty to propose to this House any grant of money in aid of those unfortunate persons. The cases in which such grants have been made at former periods, appear to me to stand on very different grounds than the one now under consideration. In the case of the Spaniards, it is well-known that the greater part of the Spanish refugees were persons who, during the Peninsular War, had been engaged in active military operations with the British army, and that most of them were afterwards expelled their country, on account of the part they had taken, in concert with us, in asserting the independence of their own country ; and enabling us to overcome the power with which we were then at war. The greater portion of the French emigrants, who came over to this country at an early period of the French war, were relieved on precisely the same grounds. This was particularly the case with regard to the Toulonese pensioners, and also with respect to those who were called the Condéan pensioners—persons who had formed part of the army of the Prince of Condé. Undoubtedly, it has been the peculiar boast of Englishmen that our shores are open to the oppressed of all countries ; and that the protection of our laws is afforded to them ; but it does not follow that those persons who seek that protection, which

it is our duty to afford them, should also expect pecuniary support from people of this country. Although, in the present case from the small number of Poles now here, the expense would, probably, not be considerable, yet I am sure every honourable member in this House will see, that if you once establish the principle that you are to give relief to unfortunate foreigners, whose claim on our bounty rests solely on the feeling of sympathy for their situation, it will be exceedingly difficult to draw a line of distinction between the present petitioners and others, who, either from the same country, or from some other nation, may hereafter appeal to the generosity of the British public. Although the number of Poles now here is few, yet there are many of them scattered about the different countries of Europe, utterly destitute of the means of supporting themselves, and I do not see on what principle we can say to those who are now here, we will give you assistance, and refuse relief to those who may hereafter come with perhaps stronger claims on our sympathy, as far as those claims are founded on the absence of all pecuniary means of support. * * *

Although I can assure the honourable and gallant member, that it is exceedingly painful to me to oppose the grant of any money to these individuals, which the natural and spontaneous feelings of every generous man would lead him to acquiesce in—still, in point of principle and precedent, I entertain such objections to our appropriation of the public money to such a purpose, that I cannot hold out any expectation that his Majesty's Government will be prepared to accede to the request of the petitioners.

House of Commons. March 25, 1834.

The exclusion of Dissenters from University Degrees, a grievance.

The objections urged against the prayer of this petition (a petition from Cambridge University, for admitting Dissenters to University honours), rest upon two grounds: first, that the grievance of which the Dissenters complain, with regard to their exclusion from the honours of the Universities, is trifling, inasmuch as they now derive all the advantages of education which can be conferred by these institutions; and secondly, that the alteration recommended would, if adopted, be fatal to the essential interests of the establishment, by divesting it of that character for sound learning and religious education, which is one of its chief and distinguishing attributes. Now, with regard to the first objection, it is quite true that the whole course of education at Cambridge is open to the Dissenters, for they are not only admitted to every part of the University instructions, but they are permitted, equally with the members of the Established Church, to partake of these Senate-house honours, which are the greatest stimulants to exertion during the academic course, and the attainment of which stamps with the mark of merit, during the rest of life, the individual who is so fortunate as to attain them; and it is said that refusing to Dissenters the mere privilege of attaching the letters A.B., or M.A., to their names, is too trifling a thing to be made the ground of a serious complaint. Now, supposing that the value of these titles began and ended with the University by which they were conferred, still I will maintain that the refusal

of them is a grievance. Honours and titles are matters of local and conventional value, and are prized in proportion to the labour by which they are attained ; and I will venture to say, that no young man of genius and talent who has toiled through the labours of the academical course, (and perhaps very few are aware of the immense degree of labour which must be devoted to that course), who has succeeded in procuring those honours, and that rank which he so justly deserved, would listen with patience if he were told that these were mere empty titles.

It must be galling to the heart of every honest man to be deprived of honours which are conferred on others not more deserving, merely for conscience sake, merely because he had adopted the creed of his fathers, or because at an age when the law does not allow him to contract any temporal engagements, he declines to subscribe to articles, the nature of which he may perhaps not have studied so as fully to comprehend, and which concern the most important, because the most lasting, interests of mankind.

House of Commons. March 26, 1834.

The value of University Degrees.

But those titles have a real value with regard to the future prospects in professional life. We all know that with regard to the learned professions of physic and law, to which many members of the University devote themselves, a degree is an essential help to future advancement. I remember having heard in the very walls of the Univer-

sity, in the Hall of Trinity College, a striking illustration of the advantage of a University degree. The late Lord Erskine, with that forcible and impassioned eloquence with which he adorned the most trifling circumstance upon which he touched, was explaining how he ascribed all his professional success to the fact of his having obtained a degree at Cambridge. He said that having taken to the law somewhat later in life than usual, and feeling dispirited and disheartened by the long probation through which he should have to pass, he was about to renounce the profession in disgust, when it was suggested to him that if he went down to Cambridge, and took out the degree to which his previous studies had entitled him, it would greatly shorten his period of probation, and be of essential service to him in other respects. He went down and took his degree, he was encouraged to persevere, and he mainly attributed to that degree, the distinguished eminence which he afterwards attained. If Lord Erskine had happened to be a Dissenter, the English bar would have lost one of its brightest ornaments. This, then, is unquestionably a great grievance towards the Dissenters, that they should not be permitted to take degrees; but it is a still more severe hardship as far as the public are concerned, because it checks the supply of persons qualified to discharge those functions to which they are called, to the service of the community. But the injury to the Dissenters can be measured, as far as it is possible to measure the sufferings of a wounded spirit, irritated by undeserved mortification. The injury to the public cannot be measured, because we cannot know the amount of talent diverted from its proper

application, and of genius quenched without being allowed to shine in its natural career.

House of Commons. March 26, 1834.

The Reasoning of the Exclusionists inconsistent.

So stands the question with regard to the law ; but, as regards the profession of medicine, the case is really so absurd, that it cannot be sensibly discussed. In the name of common sense, what is the meaning of requiring a man to sign the Thirty-nine Articles before you allow him to cure you of a fever ; or of not permitting him to save you from the grave-digger, until he has satisfied you that he is a member of the Established Church ? Seeing, then, that so palpable a grievance ought to be redressed, what objection should there be to comply with the prayer of this petition ? “ Why,” it is said, “ by granting the prayer of this petition, you will overthrow the whole system of University discipline ;” and, it is argued, that if the Dissenters are admitted, they will become part of the governing body ; and that they would be thereby enabled to alter the regulations of this establishment, so as to render it no longer exclusively a seminary for the education of the members of the Established Church. Those, however, who use this argument, seem altogether to forget those arguments which they at first used in favour of the present course adopted at the University, by which they endeavoured to prove that Dissenters have really a substantial grievance to complain of, as they are already freely admitted to all the advantages of education possessed by members

of the Established Church. These two arguments destroy each other; and this reasoning, of which they form the beginning and the end, comes out just equal to nothing. But the first statement is true, for not only are Protestant Dissenters and Catholics admitted at present to the colleges at Cambridge; but I have known an instance of a member of the Greek Church being received within the collegiate walls. Well, then, even if the several denominations of Christians were to become members of the governing body, what more could they do in the way of admitting young men of all creeds to mix together in the University. But, it may be said, that if Dissenters became ministers of the governing body—that is to say, of the senate—they might at last succeed in exempting Dissenters from compulsory attendance at the service of the Established Church, as a matter of University discipline. Now, look, would there be any harm in allowing such an exemption? How many Dissenters, I should like to know, have been brought over to the doctrines of the Established Church by three years daily attendance at the chapels of their college; or, is the respect of the Dissenters for the service of the Church likely to be much increased by seeing, every day, students rushing in the morning from their beds to chapel; in many cases, unwashed, unshaved, or half-dressed; or running in the evening from wine to prayer, impatient only for the moment when they may return from prayer to wine?

House of Commons. March 26, 1834.

His reduction in the Consular Establishment.

It is said, that due attention has not been paid to economy in the arrangement of the consular department. It might be sufficient to state, in answer to this objection, that since I came into office, I have reduced the expense of this department £29,000 a-year, being very nearly one-third of the whole amount of the salaries of the consular establishment. That, at all events, must be considered as indicating a disposition, on my part, to give attention to this subject, and to make such reductions of charge as may appear to me compatible with a due regard to the public service. During the first year I came into office, I entered into the details of every one of the branches of the consular department, and abolished all the consuls-general, except when it was necessary to maintain officers of that description; and I reduced the salaries of every consul, without a single exception. I can assure the House, that from every one of those individuals I received representations of the most urgent kind, setting forth the injustice of those reductions, and declaring that what they received before was not more than was consistent with the proper and decent discharge of their duties. I need not say, that I had a circular answer, previously prepared, to these several letters, expressing my extreme regret at the inconvenience I may have occasioned them, but that it was utterly impossible for me to make any alteration in the plan of reduction determined upon. I may assume, that I have given evidence of a disposition to look into this

question fairly, since to effect a reduction of one-third of the charge of a single department, is no small operation.

House of Commons. April 14, 1834.

Ibid.

He, first of all, found fault with my right honourable friend, the Secretary for the Colonies, for not looking sufficiently pleased, and then he took me to task for looking too much in good humour; now, really, if the honourable gentleman can be satisfied, neither by the gravity of the one nor by the gaiety of the other, I think he had better turn his eyes upon you, Sir, and take no notice of what is passing around him. I certainly wish he had so far followed my example as that, while I was looking pleased and good-humoured, he had spoken in a spirit of better temper. Perfect indifference, flippancy of manner, aristocratic contempt, and many other charges of a similar description, were hurried forth against me with great velocity and fervency, but these are modes of expression which I think are generally resorted to by gentlemen when their argument fails them, or when they are irritated to find that there really is not quite so much in their case as they had imagined. I can only say, that to accuse any gentleman that fills the office that I do, with indifference to the commercial interests of this country, is to accuse him of being deficient of common sense, and such an accusation argues, in my opinion, a deficiency of common sense in the party advancing it; because it is scarcely

possible to suppose that a man destitute of common sense could have attained the situation which I have the honour to fill.

House of Commons. May 9, 1834.

A panacea for sufferings.

The honourable and gallant gentleman (Colonel Torrens) who spoke last but one, seemed to be of opinion—nay, he absolutely declared—that there was a precise analogy between the cultivation of bad soils, and these hand-loom weavers; and because the legislature has not adopted measures to drive bad soil out of cultivation, therefore he contends it is the bounden duty of the legislature to adopt some measure for the purpose of continuing in employment the hand-loom weavers. Now, that a gallant gentleman who has argued the theory of wages so ably, should stand up with this argument in his mouth, excites, I confess, not an inconsiderable degree of surprise in my mind; and I can only account for it by supposing that his sympathy for the distressed situation of these unhappy men, has for a moment obscured the usual clearness of his judgment. Then there is the speech of the honourable member for Oldham, which abounds with arguments, or rather with illustrations, of a not less curious nature. The honourable member for Paisley contrasted the situation of the weavers in that town, with the situation of the same class of persons in Glasgow, for the purpose of showing that the situation of the former was infinitely superior to that of the latter. “Oh, don’t tell me,” says

the honourable member for Oldham, "I have seen Paisley, and I know that there are whole streets in it in which there are no such things as knives and forks to be found." Of course the honourable member's knowledge of the town must be more accurate than that of its representatives. At all events, to have arrived at the fact that there were whole streets without a knife and fork in them, he must have examined every house with great attention. "Then," says the honourable member for Oldham, "I have no remedy to offer for this evil; but still I shall vote for the Committee." Now, I think, it was only the honourable member's modesty which induced him to say that he had no remedy; because, in point of fact, he suggested a remedy—a remedy as startling as it certainly would be effectual, if it could be carried into effect. "I would send all these persons," said he, "to the infernal regions." This is a mode of remedying the evils which certainly would shorten the sufferings of these unfortunate men.

House of Commons. June 11, 1834.

If not a pure old Whig, had nevertheless helped to pass the Reform Bill.

When the honourable member for Derbyshire was alluding to the composition of the present cabinet, I understood the right honourable member for Tamworth to say, pointing to me, and my right honourable friend, the President of the Board of Control, that there were at least two Tories in it. I have no objection to

the explanation of the right honourable baronet ; and if he means to imply that I and my right honourable friend are Tories, I can only say, that we formed part of the Administration which carried the Reform Bill, and that we are determined to act upon the principles which my noble friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has this night propounded to the House. We are fully prepared, let us bear what name the right honourable baronet and his friends choose to give us, as members of the present Administration, honestly and boldly to examine all the institutions of the country, with a view, not to destroy, but to strengthen them, by remedying any abuses and defects which may be found to exist in them. If these be the intentions of Tories, I am happy to find that the present Government is likely to have the support of the right honourable baronet, and his friends.

House of Commons. July 17, 1834.

*Further inconsistency in the opposition to admit
Dissenters to University degrees.*

Only see the inconsistency to which these honourable gentlemen are reduced ! They admit Dissenters to sit with us in this House, and to discharge the highest functions of legislation ; they admit them, together with members of the Church of England, to perform every duty, civil and political, which can be performed, in every class and relation of life ; and yet they say that Dissenters shall not be admitted, in common with the members of the Church of England, to those institutions of the

country, where the best education can be afforded. They in effect, therefore, say that Dissenters may be placed in situations which shall require every degree of political knowledge, and the highest cultivation of the mind, and yet they shall be denied the means to qualify themselves for the discharge of the duties which such situations may impose upon them. This does appear to me the grossest absurdity and inconsistency of which public men ever were guilty. In the name of common sense, all those persons, who have most properly, and most advantageously to their own character, as well as to the country, enabled Dissenters to take a share in all the civil duties, and to partake of all the civil rights which the Constitution recognises, are bound to give them their support on the present occasion, if they are prepared to act up to their own principles. I do not value the argument which has been advanced, that this Bill will be ineffectual, because I can never bring myself to believe, that if the Legislature shall admit the principle, that religious dissent shall not form a ground of exclusion from the benefits of a good education to be attained at the universities, however the ministers may, by the strict exercise of their particular privileges, defeat the object of the Legislature, that enlightened, intelligent, and honourable men, such as those persons are who are charged with the government of those universities, whatever may be their private opinions will endeavour by any new regulations of their own to defeat that which shall appear to be the deliberative opinion of the Legislature of the country.

House of Commons. July 28, 1834.

*Policy of the Duke of Wellington towards Spain
approved of.*

I am glad to have now an opportunity which circumstances deprived me of, on Friday evening, of giving my testimony in favour of the policy of the Convention, signed by Lord Eliot and Colonel Gurwood ; and of saying that I think that Convention redounds highly to the credit of the Government by whose instructions it has been proposed, and was an act of which they may justly be proud, as being advantageous to all the parties concerned. I am equally ready to bear my testimony to the fair, sincere, and honourable manner in which the late Government conducted the foreign relations of this country, in reference to the contest in Spain, and to the execution of the Quadruple Treaty. The noble Lord has quoted from a speech, which I made on a former occasion, a passage in which I stated the opinion I then entertained, that the Duke of Wellington was, from the services which he had rendered to Spain, peculiarly entitled to be her counsellor in the hour of difficulty, and that he must be looked upon as one who had the interest of Spain at heart. I have not altered one iota of the opinions expressed in that speech ; I do not withdraw a tittle of the praise contained in it ; and what I have seen of the records of the office over which I have the honour to preside, as to the manner in which the Duke of Wellington acted in the execution of the engagements of the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, has only tended to convince me the more, that the Duke of Wellington has the

interest of Spain at heart; because those documents show me that that noble Duke has acted with the strictest good faith, sincerity, and honour in the execution of that treaty, whatever might have been his opinion of the policy of originally framing it. That testimony I feel bound to bear, not only because I have been appealed to by the noble Lord, but because I conceive it to be my duty so to do, from the situation which I have the honour to hold, and which enables me to speak confidently on the subject.

Debate on the affairs of Spain. June 24, 1835.

The Spanish Legion.

The fallacy of the whole of the noble Lord's (Lord Mahon) speech is this, that he confounds the measure now under consideration, namely, the permission accorded to English subjects to enter into the service of the Queen of Spain, with a measure perfectly distinct in its nature—the sending into Spain of armies under generals obeying foreign sovereigns, and receiving foreign pay, and, therefore, not under the orders, and not at the disposal, of the Government of Spain. When the noble Lord quotes opinions of mine, expressed at the time when France was sending an army of nearly two hundred thousand men, to dispose of, and remodel, the internal Government of Spain, and when he founds on them a charge of inconsistency, he should bear in mind that those opinions are not applicable to the present case, from which the case of that former period is totally and entirely distinct. Looking to the question of policy, what possible resemblance

can there be between the two cases? At that time, there was an army of nearly two hundred thousand Frenchmen marching into Spain, to decide what should be the constitution of that country, and it would have been to oppose that enormous force that our troops, if they had gone, would have been sent. There are now about ten thousand or twelve thousand persons in arms in one of the remote provinces of Spain; and it is to put down this partial and local insurrection that the present effort is to be made. And here I will answer the question of the noble Lord, who asks me on which side is the majority of the Spanish nation; and I have no hesitation in saying, that the great majority of the nation is with the Queen. The proof of that fact is to be found in the circumstance, that for nearly a year and a half the resistance to her authority has been confined to two or three particular provinces, and that no disturbances have broken out in any other parts of the kingdom. It should be recollected, also, that the inhabitants of these provinces are a people different in race, habits, and language from the people of the rest of Spain; and there can, consequently, be no injustice in inferring, from the resistance of the inhabitants of Biscay, that the people of Spain, generally, partake of the same feelings. The noble Lord quotes also my opinions in the case of 1823, that it would be necessary, if we sent troops at all, to send a large army. But this again shows the extreme difference of the two cases; for in that war, was it ten thousand or twelve thousand insurgents that were to be put down?—was it even one hundred and eighty thousand or two hundred thousand Frenchmen only, that we should have had to encounter? Does not the noble Lord recollect,

that the French army on this occasion was the advanced guard of Europe—that the other great powers of the continent then supported France, and that the contest into which we should have been led, if we had resolved to take the field, would have been not with France alone, but with France leagued with the other military powers of Europe? The question, too, which was then discussed, was the sending of a British army into Spain, to act under the orders of the King of England, and not be subject to the orders of the King of Spain. No such course has been pursued on the present occasion: no English army has been sent, as an English army: permission has been simply given to British subjects to enrol themselves in the service of the Queen of Spain; and the dignity of the Crown of Spain is in nowise wounded by such a measure, because the levies so enrolled under that permission are, for the time being, the troops of the power whose pay they receive, and under whose colours they serve. A force such as this, and a foreign army, are so palpably distinct, that I wonder how any man can confound them.

June 24, 1835.

Policy of the Melbourne Administration towards Spain defended.—The Legion defended.

The noble Lord (Mahon) has said that there is no precedent for the course pursued. I will not dispute with the noble Lord as to that point: I wish to found the conduct which the British Government shall pursue, upon the

circumstances of the case, and upon the expediency of the time. If the Government be wrong in what they have done, twenty precedents in their favour cannot convert that wrong into right; if we are right, as I contend we are, it is indifferent whether we are following a stream of former precedents, or boldly establishing a precedent ourselves for time to come; satisfied I am, that, when similar contingencies arise, our example will be followed if we have been right, and abandoned if we have been wrong. I, therefore, maintain that the case is not one of precedent, but a question of right or wrong. I hold that we are right—that we are acting in strict pursuance of the true interests of England, and in fulfilment of the treaty by which we are bound; and I maintain, that, even if we had gone a step further than we have done—if, for instance, France had sent troops under French generals, and England had sent troops under English generals, on the demand of Spain for assistance, such operations might have rendered fresh articles necessary, in order to regulate their execution; but they would not have been beyond the spirit of the Quadruple Treaty. A question might have arisen as to whether such a mode of proceeding was expedient or wise: but no question could have arisen as to whether the adoption of it implied the entering into a new course of policy, and a departure from the spirit of the engagements which were contracted twelve months ago,—which have been before Parliament since that period, and of which Parliament has not hitherto expressed any disapprobation. It is an English interest that the cause of the Queen of Spain shall be successful—it is of great importance to this country that the alliance which has been for-

tunately cemented between the four Powers of the West,—England, France, Constitutional Spain, and Constitutional Portugal—it is, I repeat, of great interest and importance, in the most enlarged views of national policy, that that alliance should continue; and it can only continue by the success of the Queen of Spain. If any man were to tell me that, in the event of Don Carlos succeeding (which, however, I hold to be impossible) in establishing himself on the throne of Spain, and in restoring all those principles of internal government and foreign policy, which would inevitably follow his establishment—if any man were to tell me that such a change in the state of Spain would leave her as efficient an ally of England, in the spirit of the Quadruple Treaty, as she would continue to be if the cause of the Queen should triumph;—I would tell that individual that he neither understands the interests of England, nor the spirit of the Treaty. We know that Europe, since the French Revolution of July, has been divided, I will not say into hostile, but into different parties; acting, each, according to their respective principles; and, if those parties have not actually met in the conflict of arms, it is only because of the anxiety which all the Governments of Europe have professed and felt to maintain peace, and to avoid everything that tends to involve Europe in war. The maintenance of peace, not only in the Peninsula, but also in Europe, is one great object which the Quadruple Alliance was intended to effect; and, in my opinion, there is no better guarantee for the continuance of the peace of Europe than that alliance; an alliance founded, not on any selfish views of separate interests—not for any purpose of national aggrandizement—

not from the remotest design of aggression against others—but solely for the purpose of preserving the peace of Europe, and of maintaining the independence of the States who are parties to it. With regard to the Convention, it is clear that it does include the troops who are going from this country: on that point there cannot be a question. With regard to their pay, the noble Lord is pleased to taunt those men who shall enrol themselves in the service of the Queen of Spain, with being mercenaries—ready to call themselves Englishmen to-day and Spaniards to-morrow—with being men who disgrace their country, and are about to sell for lucre their own blood and the blood of others. I cannot but express a deep regret that the noble Lord, whom I know to possess the feelings of an Englishman, and who has devoted his leisure and the faculties of his mind to subjects connected with the history of his country and of Spain, should have felt so coldly on this matter; that he should take so false and so narrow a view of it, as to throw out on brave and honourable men imputations so entirely undeserved. Can the noble Lord not conceive that any motive could lead Englishmen to fight under the banners of a constitutional sovereign, except the mere lucre of pay.

* * * *

I certainly understood the noble Lord as dwelling much on personal interest, and talking of Condottieri, and declaring that men were not justified, in the eyes of God, in shedding their own blood, or that of others, except in defence of their own country, and as alluding to the Swiss as an illustration; but, of course, if the noble Lord did not mean to express such feelings, the observations made by

me in reference to them must at once fall to the ground ; but still the noble Lord, though he exempts the officers from his reflections, seems to apply those reflections to the private men. Now I must say, however, that I can draw no line of distinction between the non-commissioned officer and the private soldier. I ascribe the same motives to both ; and can very well imagine that Englishmen, however humble their station, may feel a deep interest in the success of the constitutional cause in Spain ; and that brave men, of whatever degree, may take a part in that cause, not from a mere desire of pay or gain, but from being actuated by those honourable feelings which stimulate men to great actions, and which, among the high or the low, are alike the grand springs of all human glory.

June 24, 1835.

Object of the Quadruple Treaty.

The right honourable Baronet has fully admitted the necessity of carrying into effect the Quadruple Treaty. I beg to recall the attention of the House to the circumstances under which that treaty was signed. Don Carlos and Dom Miguel were then in Portugal. The claim of Don Carlos to the throne of Spain had been set aside by what was considered throughout Europe as perfectly competent authority. This country immediately acknowledged the right of Queen Isabella to the crown of Spain. At that time, the Spanish Government wished to send troops into Portugal, in order to expel from that country Don Carlos, who was organizing a military force for the purpose of

invading Spain. They first called on the Portuguese Government to expel Don Carlos from Portugal; and the Portuguese Government being unable to do so, declared that they had no objection to allow a Spanish force to enter Portugal for that purpose. The two Powers having thus come to an understanding upon the subject, it became necessary that that understanding should be recorded in a treaty; and it was deemed expedient by the Governments of England and France to adopt the agreement which had been entered into by the Governments of Portugal and Spain, and to become parties to the treaty about to be concluded between those powers. Now what is the preamble of the treaty in question? How does it state the objects which the contracting parties had in view? The preamble declares that:

“ Her Majesty, the Queen Regent of Spain, during the minority of her daughter, Donna Isabella II., Queen of Spain, and his Imperial Majesty the Duke of Braganza, Regent of the kingdom of Portugal and of the Algarves, in the name of the Queen, Donna Maria II., being impressed with a deep conviction that the interests of the two crowns, and the security of their respective dominions, require the immediate and vigorous exertions of their joint efforts to put an end to hostilities which, though directed in the first instance against the throne of her most faithful Majesty, now afford shelter and support to disaffected and rebellious subjects of the throne of Spain; and their Majesties being desirous, at the same time, to provide the necessary means for restoring to the subjects of each the blessings of internal peace, and to confirm, by mutual good offices, the friendship which they are desirous

of establishing and cementing between their respective States, they have come to the determination of uniting their forces, in order to compel the Infant Don Carlos of Spain, and the Infant Dom Miguel of Portugal, to withdraw from the Portuguese dominions."

The immediate object of the treaty, therefore, was to establish internal peace in the Peninsula; and the means by which it was proposed to effect that object, was the expulsion of the Infant Don Carlos and the Infant Dom Miguel from Portugal. The preamble goes on to state:

"That the Kings of England and France, desirous of assisting in the establishment of peace throughout the Peninsula, acceded to the engagements proposed by the respective regencies of Portugal and Spain."

It is clear, therefore, that although the immediate operation of the treaty was confined to the Portuguese dominions, the ultimate object of it was the pacification of the whole Peninsula, of Spain as well as Portugal. When Don Carlos returned to Spain, it was thought necessary to frame additional articles to the treaty, in order to meet the new emergency. One of those additional articles was:

"His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland engages to furnish her Catholic Majesty such supplies of arms and warlike stores as her Majesty may require, and further, to assist her Majesty, if necessary, with a naval force."

Now, I believe that all the writers on the law of nations agree, that any Government thus contracting to furnish arms to another, must be considered to take an active part in any contest in which that other may be engaged; and the agreement to furnish a naval force, if necessary, is a still

stronger engagement to that effect. If, therefore, the right honourable Baronet objects to the recent Order in Council, on the ground that it identifies Great Britain with the cause of the existing Government of Spain, the answer is, that by the additional articles to the Quadruple Treaty, that identification has already been established; and that one of those articles goes even beyond the measure which is at present impugned. I do not mean to say, however, that the right honourable Baronet is bound to concur in the policy of the proceeding; for the right honourable Baronet, though he has no right to question the principle of the proceeding, has a perfect right to contend that the measure which has been adopted is not the most expedient way of fulfilling the engagement which has been made.

June 24, 1835.

Spain.—Ground of our interference in 1835.

I will now advert to what has fallen from the right honourable Baronet with respect to the danger of establishing a precedent for the interference of other countries. In the first place, the present interference (for I take it to be generally allowed, that it is, in principle, an interference) is founded on a treaty arising out of an acknowledgment of the right of a sovereign, decided by the legitimate authorities of the country over which she rules. In the case of a civil war, proceeding either from a disputed succession, or from a long revolt, no writer on national law denies that other countries have a right, if they

choose, to take part with either of the two belligerents. Undoubtedly, it is inexpedient to exercise that right, except under circumstances of a peculiar nature. That right, however, is general. If one country exercises it, another may. One may support one party, another the other ; and whichever embarks in either cause, must do so with their eyes open to the full extent of the possible consequences that may follow their decision. I contend, therefore, that the measure under consideration establishes no new principle, and that it creates no danger as a precedent. Every case must be judged by the considerations of prudence which belong to it. The present case must be judged of by similar considerations. All that I now maintain is, that the recent proceeding does not go beyond the spirit of the engagement into which this country has entered, and that it does not establish any new principle. The right honourable Baronet has adverted to another circumstance which is well worthy of attention : he has pointed out the inconvenience which might arise if troops, raised by the Government of Spain, in this country, were to be organized and trained within the realm. But when the papers, for which the noble Lord has moved, shall be on the table, the right honourable Baronet will see that His Majesty's Government, in answer to the application made by the Spanish Government, have stated that the disciplining, training, and organizing of the troops in question, cannot be allowed to take place in this country ; but that those troops must be sent to Spain in detachments, as they are raised ; for that, however great the wish of the Government may be to assist the

Queen of Spain, the presence in this country of armed troops, in the service of a foreign sovereign, would not be permitted.

June 24, 1835

The Zoll-Verein.—Its effect on Prussia.

This is not the first commercial union which has existed among the States of Germany. It has been preceded by two others—one consisting of a certain number of States to the north, and the other of a number to the south: in short, for a considerable time past, the idea of uniting the States of Germany into a confederation for the purpose of having one uniform system of custom-house regulations, has been familiar to the minds of Germans. We are not justified in assuming that the present union is established on any such principle of hostility to other States, as would entitle us to object to it. At the same time, I am ready to admit that it is highly probable that one of the motives which makes Prussia anxious to draw the other States of Germany into the union, is to induce England to relax her prohibitory duties on timber and corn, the peculiar produce of Prussia; but, whatever may be the intentions of Prussia, it is not likely that they will operate upon the other German States, which do not export timber and corn. I doubt whether the union has hitherto been productive of injury to England, on the one hand, or of benefit to Prussia on the other. As far as the union tends to encourage German manufactures, it is Saxony, and not Germany, that will benefit by it. In a

financial point of view, Prussia is a loser by the confederacy, because, according to the arrangement, her proportion of the custom-house duties is less, with reference to her amount of population, and the expense to which she is subjected by the new system, than that enjoyed by the other members of the union.

August 17, 1835.

The French Alliance.—Sir Robert's Peel's approval of it.

The right honourable Baronet has this night expressed sentiments which did honour to him individually, and which I am glad to find held by a person who has filled the highest office in the State, and who, peradventure, may be called upon to do so again. It is satisfactory to find that, however parties in this House may differ upon questions either of domestic or foreign policy, there are some points at least upon which both parties are disposed to agree. I am glad to hear the right honourable Baronet express his satisfaction at learning that there continues to be an intimate alliance and union between this country and France. I was glad to hear the right honourable Baronet say that the maintenance of that union must greatly contribute to the preservation of peace. I was glad to hear the right honourable Baronet say, that he looked forward to an enlargement of the commercial intercourse between the two countries as a pledge of the maintenance of that union, and as a means of making it more firm. I was glad to hear those sentiments coming from the right honourable Baronet, and I rejoice that those

sentiments were cheered by the gentlemen who sat around the right honourable Baronet, because it has fallen to my lot to express similar sentiments in this House, which were received by the gentlemen opposite, with a cheer of a different character, and conveying a meaning of a very different description from that which I have heard from them this evening. It has fallen to my lot to be taunted by the honourable gentlemen opposite, when I expressed my sense of the value of the alliance between France and England, I was told that I was sacrificing the interests of England for the sake of French alliance; that the Government ought to pursue an independent system of national policy, and not to abandon the interests of England in deference to the Government of any foreign power. The right honourable Baronet, however, has given expression to juster sentiments. In those sentiments I cordially concur; and I hail it as a good omen to the policy of this country, that it should be known to foreign nations, that whatever changes may take place in the Government of England—whatever party may be destined to hold the reins of Government, no change is likely to take place in those fundamental principles of foreign policy by which the ancient hostility which too long subsisted between this country and France, is now converted into a friendship destined, as I believe, to be lasting and secure. I am glad also to concur with the right honourable Baronet in thinking that the peace of Europe is founded upon the improvement of moral feeling in the different countries of which Europe is composed—that it rests not merely, as some persons suppose, upon a want of pecuniary means to make war, but that there has

gradually grown up in all the countries of Europe, a public opinion in some, in others a system of government, so that for the future every means of arrangement will be expanded, whenever differences of opinion or conflicting interests arise, before recourse be had to the last arbitration of arms. I therefore think, that we are justified in stating that there is at present, more than ever, a well-founded ground to expect that the peace which now happily exists will not be disturbed.

Debate on Address. February 4, 1836.

Service of the Whigs to the cause of France.

Ministers, I think, may take to themselves some degree of credit for the existing state of things in Europe; because, undoubtedly, when they took charge of the Administration of the country in 1830, there was no one who could have believed that peace could have been preserved till the time at which we have arrived. No man could have thought that at this period peace would not merely be preserved, but rested on a foundation-ground, every day more stable and more firm. Upon these points I concur entirely in the sentiments and opinions of the right honourable Baronet; and I am glad to find that the right honourable Baronet so fully approves of that portion of the King's Speech.

February 4, 1836.

Peace policy of the Melbourne Government.

My noble friend has just been stating that a country like this, the defence of which, and the protection of whose commerce, chiefly rests upon its naval force, ought not to fall below the strength of the naval force of neighbouring nations; and, consequently, that it is no indication of any suspicion of hostile intentions on the part of any other Power, to think that the present naval force of England, in the existing circumstances of the world, and compared with the naval force of these nations, is not such as it ought to be. It is, I say, no evidence of jealousy of any other Power—no indication of hostile intentions on their part, if, under such circumstances, we come down to Parliament, and propose a certain increase in the naval force of this country. I maintain that the great object of the government of a nation, with regard to its foreign relations, is the maintenance of peace, the upholding of the honour of the country, and the protection and extension of its foreign commerce. With regard to the maintenance of peace during the administration of the present Government, facts speak sufficiently for themselves. With regard to the upholding of the honour of the country, I think that the best test of whether countries or individuals are properly upholding their own honour is, when they find other countries or persons applying to them on matters in which their honour also is concerned. When, therefore, we find powerful nations willing to accept the mediation of England on matters which concern their honour, I think we may be justly entitled to affirm

that we have made peace without any dereliction of honour, and that the respect paid to England by the other nations of the world has gone on increasing instead of diminishing, or falling off. With regard to our foreign commerce, the statement made by the honourable gentleman, who seconded the amendment, sufficiently prove that at least, under our administration of affairs, the channels of foreign commerce have not been narrowed, nor the facilities for our merchants, in the transaction of business in other countries, at all diminished while in our hands. It has been anxiously endeavoured by treaties of commerce, and by the employment of the whole influence of the Government, to extend and enlarge the commerce of the country—to open new channels wherever they could be found, and to render more commodious and secure these channels which previously existed.

February 4, 1836.

Spanish Legion.—Defence of Colonel Evans.

I must begin by expressing my sincere regret, that any honourable members should have thought it expedient—should have thought it consistent with their sense of duty and with their feelings—to express the opinions which they have done with regard to a member of the House, who has so nobly, as I contend, volunteered his services in the cause of the Queen of Spain. I regret that any honourable members should have expressed opinions which I am convinced are so utterly opposite to those of the great mass of the people of this country, and which are, in my opinion,

founded upon so erroneous a view, and so defective a feeling upon the subject to which they relate. I think that the honourable and gallant member for Westminster, who is now serving at the head of a large body of our countrymen in Spain, deserves well of his country for having undertaken the service in which he is engaged; and I can assure the honourable member for Sandwich, that the hopes, and feelings, and wishes, and prayers of a great portion of the people of this country are embarked in the success of his cause.

February 5, 1836.

Permanence of the French Alliance prophesied.

The honourable member for Sandwich, feeling, no doubt, and remembering how difficult it is for a man to be a prophet in his own country, and perhaps diffident of his own powers to make himself an exception to the rule, has started to-night as a prophet with respect to foreign affairs. He has given us one prophecy with regard to Spain, and another with respect to France. With regard to Spain, he has told us—and he pledged his sagacity—his knowledge of human nature, his foresight, and his wisdom, on the accuracy of the prophecy—that the cause of Don Carlos will succeed, and that the one hundred thousand men who are now in arms, as he tells us, will speedily replace Don Carlos—not replace him by the bye, for he never yet occupied the seat, but will speedily place Don Carlos on the throne of Spain. With regard to France, he says: “You weak and blind ministers of Eng-

land, indulge not in idle fancies of friendship cemented between England and France." The friendship which at present exists, so far from being, as we hope, lasting and firm, is destined, he tells us, from the very nature of things—from the deep-rooted feelings of animosity which exists between the two countries—speedily to give way to some dark and mysterious intrigue, which he paid me the compliment to suppose I understood, but which, I confess, I understood not at the time he was speaking, nor have been able to comprehend since. With regard to his opinions on the subject of the French alliance, I am content to leave them to the rebuke which they have received from the admirable speech of the noble Lord the member for South Lancashire, who sits next him; and I must say it was refreshing to me to hear the sentiments which that noble Lord expressed, in contrast with those which had fallen from the honourable member for Sandwich. And this is undoubtedly a remarkable circumstance, that amongst the honourable gentlemen who sit on the opposition side of the House, although generally united to oppose the Government, a great diversity of opinion prevails upon almost every question of foreign policy. There is amongst them on domestic policy almost every shade of opinion, from those who profess to be for every description of reform, to those who say they will make no alteration at all; there is amongst them upon foreign affairs almost every shade of opinion, from those who, like the right honourable baronet last night, and my noble friend this evening, say they wish for an alliance with France, that they think the alliance between the two nations consistent with the honour, and advantageous

to the interests of England, and founded upon enlightened principles, likely to perpetuate the peace of Europe; there is amongst them every gradation of opinion, from those of these enlightened men, down to those of the honourable member for Sandwich, who seems to look with aversion even at the slightest contact with our neighbour, who rejoices and delights in our former wars and battles, and who tells us, with an air of prophetic truth, that there are recollections which will ever prevent an union between the two countries. I lament these prophecies; but events will prove whether he is right, and whether we are wrong. But at least we have the satisfaction of thinking, that in anticipating the growing connection between the two countries, and feeling a conviction that that connection is founded upon the best principles of human nature, the most enlightened principles of public policy; we have, I repeat, the satisfaction of thinking, that in indulging in that anticipation, we have enjoyed a pleasure, which I am sure it is impossible for the honourable member for Sandwich to feel, when he anticipates the disastrous separation between the two countries, which is to be result of the unknown and mysterious intrigue which he has so darkly shadowed out.

February 5, 1836.

Policy of Russia.—A war deprecated.

The honourable member for Birmingham has expressed, in the most unmeasured and unqualified terms, his anxious desire to see this country engaged, as soon as possible, in

a war. In that wish I by no means occur. My wish is, that we may continue at peace; and I firmly hope and believe that we shall do so. If, however, it should be our fate, by the aggression or provocation of any power or powers, to find ourselves engaged in a war, most certainly I do not concur in the fervent wish of the honourable member for Southampton that, in such a war, though opposed by the combination of other powers, we may have the fortune to stand alone. I hope, if we do go to war, that the friendships we have formed in peace—the respect, confidence, and good-will which the integrity and uprightness of our policy have created for us in the minds of other nations—will successfully carry us through the contest; and that, as our cause will, and can only be just, we shall be supported in it not only by the communicated sympathy of mankind, but by the active exertions of many powerful and faithful allies.

Debate on Russian Policy. February 19, 1836.

The English not indifferent to foreign affairs.

Never has it been the character of the English nation or of the English Parliament to feel indifferent on the affairs of other nations. I say there is nothing which more peculiarly characterizes the people of this country and the deliberations of Parliament, than the lively attention which is evinced to the events passing around us; nay, perhaps, upon some occasions, the House has even gone before the Government, in its eager perception of coming events, rather than lagged behind looking with indifference upon

matters deserving their attention. However, if I were called upon to give an explanation of the apparent—and it is only apparent—indifference to which my noble friend alluded, I should say it arises, not from an insensibility to the importance of the matters to which my noble friend has referred, but from confidence in His Majesty's Government; from experience that by their management of our foreign affairs peace has been preserved, and from a belief that their attention is steadily directed, without being urged by repeated goadings from this House, to the maintenance of peace abroad, and that they are alike careful of the important interests and the honour of this country. If the country thought that our foreign relations were ill-administered, we should not see this House so empty as it has been when foreign affairs have been the subject of discussion. When the country has been dissatisfied with the management of foreign affairs, I have seen this House fuller during a debate upon the subject, than upon those of the greatest domestic interest. Therefore, notwithstanding all that my noble friend infers from this apparent indifference, I look upon it as a proof of the confidence which is reposed by the country in the existing Government.

February 19, 1836.

Russian policy of aggrandizement.

My noble friend, in his speech, has, with great ability and research, traced the progressive augmentation of territory which the Russian empire has acquired. If

there is one subject more peculiar than another connected with these acquisitions, it is that they have been, almost invariably, made at periods when the other nations of Europe were engaged in quarrels among themselves, and their attention was occupied in their own respective wars. That being the case, my noble friend must approve of the policy we have observed in preserving the peace of Europe, because he must be convinced that it is a better way of preventing the further aggrandizement of that power than that of pursuing the advice of the honourable member for Birmingham—to have a war either of gold or of paper. My noble friend must, upon reflection, be satisfied that the preservation of peace can alone prevent the recurrence of the events of former times, the evils of which he has stated to the House. I say, this affords us an additional motive for endeavouring to avoid the causes of war, and to cement those alliances in peace by means of which we may prevent occurrences, which might be followed by consequences which my noble friend so strongly deprecates. I agree with my noble friend, that it is of importance to this country, both commercially and politically, that Turkey should be maintained in integrity and independence; and individually, upon former occasions, I have endeavoured to satisfy the House that this is not only the opinion now entertained by His Majesty's Government, but one which has been constantly expressed upon those occasions when, according to custom, they have made communications to Parliament; and I can assure my noble friend, that he does not feel more strongly than we do upon this subject. I believe that feeling is also shared with us by all other

countries, whose interests as well as ours require that Turkey should continue independent and powerful.

February 19, 1836.

The Spanish Legion.—Precedents.

The honourable and learned member must surely be aware that the reign of Elizabeth is full of precedents—not, perhaps, exactly in point, because those cases are much stronger than the present one. The measure complained of by the honourable and learned gentleman is simply a permission given, or, I should rather say, a prohibition retracted, which a recent law had imposed on the subjects of this country, to prevent them from entering into a foreign service. The effect of the Order in Council has been simply to leave the subjects of the realm in the same position in which they stood by the common law of the country, not merely before the Act of 1819, but before the Act of George II. had passed. The effect of that Order in Council was merely to restore to the British people their freedom of choice. Let me ask, what are the precedents of Elizabeth, and that in the time of Charles I.? *Are* they merely cases in which the King's subjects were left free to do as they choose? Directly the reverse. The honourable and learned gentleman must be well acquainted with these cases. He must know that Queen Elizabeth sent first six thousand men to assist the Huguenots in France, and afterwards six thousand more to put down the revolted subjects in the Low Countries; and not only did she give her subjects permission to

engage in the war, but she did that which the present Government has been falsely accused of doing—she accomplished in an indirect and underhand way, that which she did not choose to do openly. Being restrained by prudential reasons from at once declaring war in her own name, she not only gave permission to her subjects to engage in the war, but gave money and other efficient aid; she not only raised six thousand men for the Huguenots, and six thousand for the Low Countries, but she furnished them with trains of artillery at her own expense—she did, in short, not only what has been done in the present case by the Government of which I am a member, but took a much more decided and active course of interference. The precedent of Charles I. is of exactly the same description. Charles raised at his own expense six thousand troops, who went out with the Marquis of Hamilton to serve with the King of Sweden in Germany. Can it be said, then, that there are no precedents for the measures of the present Government?

Mr. McLean's Motion on Spanish affairs. Feb. 26, 1836.

Volunteers, or mercenaries, in foreign services.—

Precedents.

I have heard it asserted also, that it is contrary to the laws of nations for the subjects of one power to fight in the ranks and under the banners of another. * * * *
 What happened at the time of the revolt in the Low Countries? The army of Prince Maurice was composed of men of all nations, who had been brought by their adven-

turous spirit and love of freedom to fight in his ranks, and by their gallant conduct they mainly contributed to gain those successes by which his name has been immortalised. In the battle which was fought in 1600 near Nieuport, the British auxiliaries, under the command of Sir Philip de Vere, were greatly instrumental in securing the victory. When Ostend was taken, two years afterwards, who were the officers which commanded the garrison? They were Dork, a Dutchman; Edmonds, a Scotchman; and Hestian, a Frenchman; while Sir Philip de Vere, an Englishman, was serving in the army of Prince Maurice. To say when the subjects of one country are fighting in the ranks and under the banner of another country, any man is justified in declaring that he will put them to death when taken prisoners, because they are interfering in the affairs of another country, and that no foreigner has a right to fight under any banner but his own, is a doctrine which I am sure must be acknowledged to be false, and contrary to the stream of historical facts in every part of the world. Then the honourable and learned gentleman said that the precedents were not in point, but why, I confess, I am at a loss to make out, unless it be that in the case of Queen Elizabeth, it was English troops fighting in the Netherlands, and in this case it is English troops fighting in Spain. The honourable and learned gentleman laid peculiar stress on this that our troops are now fighting under a Spanish General, and not under the chief command of an English officer. But I have shown in the case quoted, that our auxiliaries, though commanded by British generals, were embodied in armies, the chief command of which was

vested in foreigners, and in this respect, therefore, the cases are strictly similar.

February 26, 1836.

Spanish ingratitude denied.

The honourable and learned gentleman says, that at all events our interference will bring down upon us the hatred of the Spanish nation ; and he draws this inference, and quotes as an authority for this assertion, a statement of Mr. Canning, that on the former occasion, though we went to relieve the Spaniards from foreign domination, they yet saw with joy the embarkation of the last division of our troops. Why, I would ask the honourable and learned gentleman, what country in the world is there, which would not feel exactly the same ? What nation is there that is fond of having a foreign army on its ground ? We ourselves might be thankful for assistance, if so great a calamity befel us as a formidable invasion ; but when the triumph was achieved, and our deliverance effected, none would be more glad to see their friends take leave, than this very nation would be. Therefore, it is not fair to reproach Spain with ingratitude, nor to say that her joy at the departure of foreign troops from her shores was a proof that our assistance was unwisely or undeservedly given.

Ibid.

*Spain.—Parliamentary attacks on the Legion
deprecatd.*

The honourable and learned gentlemen has reminded us of the very sage advice which the gallant gentleman opposite (Sir J. Elley) gave to General Evans before he left the country, which was, that he should always have six months pay in advance in his military chest. The honourable gentleman has shown his talents, as well as his bravery, in every field of battle in which he has been engaged; and his encounters have been many and difficult; and I must say, that the advice he gave on this matter, did great credit to his judgment and sagacity. I much regret that General Evans has been unable to put in practice that advice; but no reflection can on that account be cast on him, for if the Spanish treasury could have afforded the means of keeping the military chest so well replenished, no doubt General Evans would have adopted the gallant officer's advice. How far the present motion of the honourable and learned gentleman may have the effect of preventing him from having constantly in his chest six months pay in advance; how far, by endeavouring to throw discredit on the cause, by taunting the British force, and reviling them as mercenaries; by representing the contest as hopeless; by describing the Spanish people as apathetic; by crying up Carlos—I shall add no epithet to the name, Carlos is enough—as sure to be King of Spain, and denouncing the cause of the Queen as hopeless; how far it may be thought that, by such practices, additional difficulties will be thrown in the way of the Queen and our

countrymen, it is not for me to decide ; but I am persuaded that the tone of this House to-night, and the feeling of the public, will render such attempts unsuccessful. I am convinced that the more the matter is discussed, the more the question is gone into, the more general and deep will be the desire for the success of the Queen's cause—of that cause which has been ably undertaken by our gallant countrymen.

They may be taunted with the difficulties they may have to contend with, they may be spoken of with disrespect ; but I never can believe—nor will it be believed by the people of England—that either in the hour of suffering and privation, or in the day of battle, that at any time, or under any circumstances, they will fail to sustain the name, and to uphold the honour of their country.

February 26, 1836.

England interested in Spanish freedom.

The great charge made rests upon one point—that we have given support to the Queen of Spain, and that the people of England have no interest in the success of her arms. On that point I am at issue with the honourable and learned member ; on that point I am willing to rest the justification of the whole course of our proceedings on this question. If England has no interest in the success of the Queen's arms, then undoubtedly we were wrong in concluding the treaty, and are not borne out in issuing the Order in Council. But England has an interest in the success of that cause. And why has she an interest ?

Because it is the interest of England that Spain should be free, and that she should be prosperous ; because it is for the interest of England that Spain should be independent, in order that she may be an element of the balance of power in Europe. Or even if we look at the matter in the narrow view of our relationship with Spain as a trading and commercial country, it is our interest that her resources and her wealth should be developed ; and that, for this purpose, she should receive the benefits of that constitution which Martinez de la Rosa (of whom the noble Lord spoke in such high terms) has laboured to procure for her. It is of importance to England that Spain should not be under the misrule from which she suffered in the reign of Ferdinand, and to which she would return if Don Carlos ascended the throne.

February 26, 1836.

Interference is a "necessity."

The Government have been accused this night, as they have been on former occasions, with over-interference in the affairs of other nations. In the observations made upon the treaty, and the Order in Council, there has been the usual perversion of terms with respect to our "non-interference." It is asserted that we profess non-interference and practise interference, but we profess no such thing. The treaty made us parties in the war ; and, from the moment the treaty was signed, there was an end of any professions of non-interference on our part. The Government, however, is accused of meddling too much in the affairs of other

nations; I should be glad to know from the honourable and learned gentleman, what the period of English history is, when the Government has not interfered with other nations? England cannot help interfering, as long as she has commerce to protect, and shores to defend. If we do not show a determination to guard our own interests, to preserve our own honour, and to uphold our own character; and if we do not providently take a proper part in the transactions between other countries, the time will very soon come when other countries will interfere in our affairs, and in a way which we should find extremely inconvenient. But the question is this: Is our interference proper? is it for our own advantage? is it for the advantage of the countries which have been the scene of that interference? Now, what is the fact? where have we interfered, and what has been the result? First, we have interfered with the affairs of Greece, and what is the present state of that country? The Greeks, who, while a nation of slaves, were "pirates by sea, and robbers by land;" the names by which they were stigmatised the other night by the honourable member for Southampton, are now settling down into the arts of peace; they are building their cities, and cultivating their lands; extending their commerce, and daily advancing in the career of civilization, peace and happiness. Where did we next interfere? In Belgium. Is Belgium worse off for our interference? has any honourable member of this House, I should like to know, been in Belgium in the course of the last year, and whether that country is not one of the most prosperous in Europe? with a King of its own choice; and, though in a state of half peace and half war, and obliged to maintain

a large army for its defence, yet finding the means to defray the expenses of the year without recourse to loans, and without any heavy taxation on its population? Yet these people, who, when they belonged first to one foreign master and then to another, were regarded as the most turbulent and discontented nation in Europe, have now become one of the most happy, contented and prosperous. Where did we interfere next? In Portugal; and our interference in Portugal was denounced even more strongly than that with respect to Spain. Well, how did we find Portugal? We found her distracted by a civil war, and oppressed by the most grinding tyranny; we found the flower of her nobility in exile, or in prison; property confiscated, liberty insecure, commerce suspended, industry at a stand—we found Portugal in the most abject and degraded state in which a country could be placed; and in what situation is she now? Enjoying a free constitution, with a Queen of her own choice; parties almost annihilated, even the Miguelites reconciled to their legitimate Sovereign, and proving their confidence in the stability of her throne by purchasing the Crown lands; we find, in short, the nation already advancing in a course of prosperity, which I trust will every day increase. But with regard to Portugal, I would ask, had we not the same prophecies uttered, that we now hear concerning Spain? It was said, that it would be impossible to place Donna Maria on her throne; that almost the whole of the Portuguese nation was for Dom Miguel; that he was the idol of the people; that Donna Maria was supported only by a band of mercenaries; and that succour was beyond the reach of possibility.

We were told, even when she got to Lisbon, that her cause was hopeless, and that the support which we afforded her only proved our ignorance of Portugal, and would surely cover us with disgrace. We have now interfered with the affairs of Spain, and that in a more decided and positive way than we did for the Queen of Portugal. Of the propriety of that interference I entertain one opinion, and the honourable and learned gentleman opposite another. I do not shrink from my anticipations upon this subject, and I beg to pin the honourable gentlemen opposite to theirs. I beg that their declarations and their prophecies upon this subject may be borne in mind, and that their reputation for political sagacity may depend upon the result; for my own part, I will say, I am not afraid of abiding by the same text.

February 26, 1836.

The occupation of Cracow.

It is quite true, as my right honourable friend has stated, that the Treaty of Vienna stipulates that foreign troops shall, on no account whatever, enter the State of Cracow; that treaty contains also an individual reciprocal condition on the part of the State of Cracow, that on no account shall it harbour such persons as are described in that treaty, but shall, on demand, deliver up such persons to either of the three contracting powers whose subjects they happen to be; and it is upon this article of the treaty, that the residents of the three powers, in their note

to the Senate of Cracow, found their claim to the expulsion, within eight days, of the Polish refugees from that territory. It is obvious that the demand was not precisely that which was contemplated in the treaty, the treaty not requiring that these persons should be delivered up to the Resident of either of these powers, but simply that they should be removed from the territory of Cracow. It is our duty to take a fair and impartial view of the subject, whatever may be the interest we must naturally feel in everything which relates to Poland. However prone the House may be to sympathize with her as the weaker power, still it is necessary that we should continue to discuss the subject with that calmness of which my right honourable friend has set so commendable an example—and to take into considerations all the facts bearing upon the stipulation of the treaty.

Looking upon the matter with this feeling, and supposing the reports we have received, which are not yet, however, officially confirmed, to contain the statement of the case, I should say it must be considered that the measures adopted by the Residents of the three powers have fallen within the spirit of the treaty with the State of Cracow; for it is alleged that a number of the natives of Poland assembled at Cracow, and (inspired by feelings perfectly natural under their circumstances) were in constant communication with the Austrian and Russian provinces of Poland, and carrying on plans calculated to disturb the government of those places. If this was so, I should say that the spirit of the treaty was such as to forbid Cracow from allowing the residence of such persons in their State.

They had entered into an engagement not to harbour offenders against the laws, or men who had deserted from the army, or fled from prosecution ; therefore they were bound not to allow these persons to avail themselves of the shelter which their political circumstances afforded. But although the three powers might be justified in calling upon the State of Cracow to order such persons to depart, it does not follow that they were justified in their military occupation of the State, in consequence of any temporary delay, in complying with their demands, on the part of Cracow. I am bound to say, that no sufficient reason has yet been given, either for the entrance of the troops, or the shortness of the interval which existed between the time of the demand, and that of the occupation of Cracow, although it would be difficult to deny the right of the three powers, under the circumstances I have assumed, to require that those persons who were really carrying on this improper correspondence, should be removed from Cracow : and this being necessarily acceded to, that they should afterwards require the expulsion, within eight days, of individuals, many of whom are known to have settled in the place, to have contracted marriages there, and even to have entered into the service of the State, was carrying their demand altogether beyond what appears to have been necessary for the safety of the adjoining countries. It is but due to them, however, to say that, according to what we hear, the sweeping extent of this demand was somewhat mitigated by a subsequent communication to the Senate, although by accounts we have received within the last few days, there is reason to fear that that mitigation has not been carried

to its promised extent. I have said, that under the Treaty of Vienna, I think the three powers, if they had named certain persons, and had stated their grounds for doing so, might have been justified in requiring their expulsion from Cracow. I should even say, that if no treaty had existed at all, if Cracow had only stood on the same common footing as all other nations of Europe, and a neighbouring power pointed out to her the existence of certain persons within her territory, who were employed in exciting disturbances among the population of that power, the mere duty of good neighbourhood would require that Cracow should take effective measures to prevent her soil from becoming an asylum for the disturbers. But on the other hand, as I have before stated, even if Cracow has refused to comply immediately with the demand made upon her, I do not think that that would have been a sufficient justification for the violent measures which have been adopted towards her. The allied powers should, in the first instance, have exhausted every source of friendly representation and communication within their power. It does not appear that this was done. It may have been done, but if so done, it has been without our knowledge ; and even if they had failed to obtain by such friendly representations, that which they thought necessary for their own safety, there were still other measures obviously applicable to their purpose, without resort being had to the step they have taken. I do not stand up here to defend a measure which, on the contrary, I must censure and condemn. I have merely stated those circumstances which, though they do not excuse the forcible occupation of Cracow, might yet afford a justification for

the demand of the three powers, if it had been made in a more limited form than it was. I think it right here to observe, that as Great Britain was a party to the Treaty of Vienna, before the contracting powers made such a demand upon Cracow as they have done, it was their duty to have communicated to the Government of this country the grounds upon which they were about to proceed; but at the same time, in determining to take a step which, to say the least of it, was one of unnecessary violence, without consulting His Majesty's Government, that they be justly said perhaps to have paid an involuntary homage to the justice and plain dealing of the country, and thus to have recognised the fact, that they were aware we should never have given our assent to such a proceeding; that if they had made any communications to us of their intentions, we should, in reply, have endeavoured to dissuade them from carrying their intentions into execution. I believe that the convention regulating the course to be pursued, under such a contingency as they allege, was made, not as my right honourable friend supposes, in 1833, but in the beginning of the present year. Presuming the measure adopted by the three powers to have been justifiable, it must be acknowledged, I think, that the selection of the Austrian rather than the Russian troops for the duty, was a proof of good feeling on the part of the powers towards the State of Cracow, because the remembrance of the frequent conflicts between the Russians and the Poles might have tended to exasperate the State much more against the measure which was adopted.

Sir Stratford Canning's motion. March 18, 1836.

Importance of the Independence of Cracow.

I impute no blame to my right honourable friend for bringing this subject under the consideration of the House; on the contrary, I think it perfectly natural that one who has taken so active and distinguished a part in the diplomatic affairs of the country as he himself has filled, should feel all that interest he has manifested relative to a proceeding that bears upon one of the most important diplomatic transactions of the present day. It is not the relative extent of country, or the relative greatness of the nation which is so much to be considered in an affair of this kind, as it is the great principle that should be maintained between neighbouring States; it is of as much importance to us to see that the independence of a State like Cracow be not causelessly and wantonly disturbed, as if the case were that of Prussia, or of any other powerful nation. If the most powerful States are as wise as I believe them to be—as provident in preparing for the events of the future—as regardful for their own interests, they will find that the best way to secure their possessions is to maintain their treaties with the smaller States inviolate; and these, in their turn, will find that to pay the most implicit attention to the engagements they have entered into with their more powerful neighbours, is the only way to secure their friendly co-operation and assistance in time of menace and danger.

March 18, 1836.

Importance of our trade with Turkey and of Turkish independence.

My honourable friend has stated the great importance, politically and commercially, of our relations with Turkey, and with other countries lying upon the Black Sea. The Government entirely concur with my honourable friend as to the extreme importance in both these respects—both politically and commercially—of our relations with those countries. We feel, as strongly as my honourable friend can do, of what extreme importance it is, with a view to the preservation of the balance of power in Europe, that Turkey should be maintained in a state of independence; and we also feel as deeply as my honourable friend, how essential it is to the commercial resources of this country, to secure the advantages which may be derived from an extension of our commercial intercourse with Turkey and Persia, and with any other State in that part of the world. The question, then is, not whether the Government are alive to those considerations to which the speech of my honourable friend was addressed—but it is, whether circumstances have occurred that demonstrate the existence of danger to which the Government are blind, and against which they are not likely to guard, unless driven thereto by the direct interference of this House. Now I own that, amply as my honourable friend has established the first part of this case, I think he has entirely failed in establishing the second. My honourable friend has shown, beyond the possibility of question, the great importance of Turkey, as an independent State, to this country, and, he

will say, to all the powers of Western Europe. My honourable friend has proved, by reference to former events, that it is necessary for the Government of this country to keep a watchful eye upon the political condition of Turkey, in order to be ready, in case hostilities should arise, to extend to Turkey such assistance as circumstances may render necessary.

My honourable friend has established, with regard to the commerce of this country with Turkey and Persia, not only enough for the purpose he had in view, but I take leave to say more even than would suit the object of his argument. He has shown that this trade is a trade of yearly and increasing importance. He has shown that it is a trade of great present value, and of still greater promise to this country; which is, therefore, highly necessary for our Government to watch over; and that any interruption to it should be prevented by all possible means. But what are the facts which my right honourable friend has stated in support of that part of his argument? Why he has told us that during the last few years, that trade has risen from next to nothing to a very considerable amount. And what are the years during which this change has taken place? Have they been years during which Turkey was in a state of profound peace, and complete independence?—have they been years in which there was no war going on to interrupt the tranquil pursuits of commerce, and in which the independence and authority of the Sultan were so firmly established throughout all his dominions, as to enable him to form ample protection to merchants, and to the introduction of foreign commodities? Quite the reverse.

This trade has increased during the time in which Turkey was distracted by intestine wars, and when every circumstance connected with the internal and political condition of Turkey was unfavourable, if I may express it, to the development of commerce. During that period, however, and notwithstanding this circumstance, I am of opinion that my honourable friend has proved, by the documents to which he has referred, that our trade with Turkey has increased in a most rapid and unexampled manner.

Debate on Russia and Turkey. April 20, 1836.

The alleged aggressive designs of Russia.

My honourable friend next pointed the attention of the House to the aggressions which he conceives that Russia meditates against us. I do not stand here to expound or explain the intentions of Russia. It is enough for us to look at facts, and deal with events that have actually taken place. I can assure the House there is no disposition on the part of his Majesty's Government to submit to aggressions on the part of any power, be that power what she may, or be she more or less strong. We are convinced that if any power should be disposed to commit aggressions against the subjects of England, that if we came to this House, and stated that such facts had come to pass, and that our remonstrances had been in vain, and that we were not able to obtain redress, we are perfectly confident, I say, if we did this, that such an appeal would never be made in vain to a British House of Commons.

But though I followed the speech of my honourable friend with all the attention which I could command, I confess that I was not able to make out from his statement any specific fact which he alleged to have taken place. It appeared to me that the sentiments of those whom he represents, as well as the opinions he himself has expressed, are elicited rather by apprehensions with regard to the future, than by actual facts with regard to the past.

Now, Sir, in dealing with the relations between this country and foreign powers, it is not prudent or wise, I think, to anticipate wrongs. It is sufficient to deal with wrongs when they have occurred; and it is wiser, at all events, for Parliament not unnecessarily to announce apprehensions of injuries which have not actually taken place. Sir, we have had an instance not long ago of the inconvenience of popular assemblies dealing prematurely with questions between different countries. I think it is very evident that if popular assemblies in France and America had left it for their respective Governments to deal with the questions of difference that lately arose between those two countries, the difficulties which attended its arrangement would not have been so great as they ultimately proved to be.

April 20, 1836.

Navigation of the Danube.—Treaty of Vienna.

There can be no doubt, I apprehend, that by the Treaty of Vienna, the navigation of the Danube is free to all nations. The one hundred and eighth article says :

“That all navigable rivers, which in their course either traverse or separate the different States, shall be free to the commerce of all nations.”

Another article goes on to say that those powers, through whose territory such rivers pass, shall appoint commissioners to regulate all matters concerning the details of the navigation of those rivers; and it empowers them to fix the tolls which may be levied, provided always that the tolls so fixed shall not exceed the amount of the tolls existing at the time when the Treaty of Vienna was signed. Now, at the period of the Treaty of Vienna, the Danube was a river falling within this description; for although Turkey was not a party to that treaty, yet, as the Danube traverses Austria and Bavaria, that river would certainly come under the provisions of the treaty. But, undoubtedly when Russia acquired a portion of the Danube by the Treaty of Adrianople, that part of the river fell within the scope of the Treaty of Vienna, as being a part of Russia.

April 20, 1836.

You cannot exterminate a nation.

My honourable friend has stated that, on former occasions, I had held out certain reasons to induce the country to entertain expectations as to the particular course the Government would pursue, but which expectations had not afterwards been realized. He stated, in the first place, that I had said that it was not in the power of Russia to exterminate a kingdom,—alluding to Poland. As the expression so attributed to me has been quoted before in

this House, I take the opportunity to correct a mistake in the report of what I really said. What I, on the occasion referred to, said, was this—that it was impossible for Russia to exterminate, nominally or physically, a nation—I did not say kingdom. A kingdom is a political body, and may be destroyed; but a nation is an aggregate body of men; and what I stated was, that if Russia did entertain the project, which many thinking people believe she did, of exterminating the Polish nation, she entertained what it was hopeless to accomplish, because it was impossible to exterminate a nation, especially a nation of so many millions of men as the Polish kingdom, in its divided state, contained.

April 20, 1836.

Principles of the Foreign Policy of England.

I conceive the feeling of Parliament and the interest of the country to be, that we should submit to wrong from no power whatever, and that we should permit none to provoke us with impunity, but that we should also cautiously abstain from anything that might be construed by other powers, and reasonably so, into a provocation on our part; that we should stand upon our rights and defend them, but that we should at the same time wait till we are really attacked, and pause till we have really good and just ground of quarrel, before we disturb that state of peace so essential to the interests of civilization, and which it is the peculiar boast of these latter years, that all the nations of Europe have learned the value of, and which,

I trust, if it is to be disturbed (as I hope it will not be), will be disturbed by no rash or imprudent act on the part of England, but by the aggression of foreign powers, in resisting which England may carry with her into the contest the opinions and judgments of all mankind, and rally about her (as I am sure she would if any wanton attack were made upon her), all the other nations of Europe, whose interest in the matters are, as my honourable friend has justly stated, identical with those of this country.

April 20, 1836.

Feeling of foreigners as to Protective Duties.

I cannot conceal from the House, that there exists in the minds of many in Portugal prejudices for protecting duties in favour of their own commerce; yet I am not without the hope that those prejudices may be made to give way, on the full consideration of the great reciprocal advantages of free commercial intercourse. When I allude to the existence of such prejudices in the minds of the people of many foreign nations, I should add my conviction that they are greatly encouraged by the language held in this House on the subject of our foreign trade; and when we press on foreigners the advantages of free commercial intercourse between us and them, with only such duties as could be altogether dispensed with, they reply, "It may be very well for England to preach this theory, now that she has risen to the height of prosperity, by having adopted a contrary practice for so

long a period ; when we also become rich, we shall not object to follow her example." Now there is one great error in this objection, and that is, that England did not become prosperous because of her protective duties, but in spite of them ; and that her prosperity has been very considerably retarded by the continuance of protecting duties ; but as long as foreign prejudices, which exist to the reciprocity system, are supported and encouraged by language held in this House, so long will the difficulties of overcoming them remain.

June 6, 1836.

Freedom established in Greece.

It is a great mistake to suppose that Greece is not in the possession of the basis of freedom. The only thing wanting to place it in the same situation with England herself is, to put the finishing-stroke to the work which has been already done—to add, to the institutions which have been already formed, a general representation of the State ; but this is a thing which must follow, and not precede, other arrangements. Until we have completed our interior organization, it would be premature to establish our general representation. I am convinced, however, that Greece will at length have one ; it is as much the wish of His Majesty's Government as it is of Greece herself ; but honourable members are greatly deceived if they think that in refusing this grant, they would be accelerating the establishment of such an institution. If there be anything which would render it almost impos-

sible, it would be a refusal, on the part of this country, to advance to Greece the money she wants, because it must strike every honourable member who considers this subject, that it would compel her to seek the money elsewhere, and perhaps to submit to conditions which would prevent the establishment of such an institution. Honourable members have spoken of barbarians and of mercenary troops in the pay of the State, and of their employment in civil offices; but I have the satisfaction to state to the Committee, that since the King became of age last year, not a single barbarian has been retained, many of those who were there have quitted Greece, and it has been determined that when the term of their service has expired, no fresh troops shall be brought over. In point of fact, the army now paid by the Greek Government consists of rather more than half native troops. The Greek Government, I admit, ought to be a national Government; and that our labour would be in vain, if we had only established a Government which must be supported by foreigners. The State must be Greek in its civil as well as in every other department; for it is evident that should it not be capable of supporting itself by the free and spontaneous exertions of its own sons, there must be something rotten in the fabric, and our exertions will be thrown away. But I assure those honourable members who have given us such a dismal picture of Greece, that her Government is a national Government, and that the efforts of those who are now at the head of it are steadily directed to make it more strictly and purely so—which dissensions among the ministers themselves, have hitherto in some measure checked. These diffe-

rences have hitherto much embarrassed the march of Government, and prevented it from doing so much as it would otherwise have done for the benefit of the State. In the year which has elapsed since King Otho became of age, the measures adopted have been—trial by jury; the complete execution of the law of municipalities; the formation of a veteran corps, consisting of Greeks, who have served in the war of independence; an assignment of pensions to the widows of those who fell during the war; and the distribution of the national lands among the people. The objections therefore, to this measure, appear to me to rest upon no solid foundation.

Debate on introducing the Greek Loan Bill. July 28,
1836.

Don Carlos.

Don Carlos is a mere pretender, seeking a throne he never sat upon, invading and carrying civil war into a country to which he has no claim. Whatever may be the estimable qualities of his private character, it must be admitted that he is carrying all the horrors of civil war, and the plagues of fire and sword, and murder by wholesale, into the bosom of his native country—that he is thus violating the peace, and ravaging the territory of that nation of which he would be called the father. But, under these circumstances, how could a declaration of war be made against him by his country? Our position is perfectly clear in this contest. It is not one of war, but one

which constitutes us, under treaty, auxiliaries in support of our ally.

House of Commons. August 5, 1836.

English policy in Spain defended.

Notwithstanding all the arguments of honourable gentlemen, I must be allowed to think that it is extremely desirable to have a free government in Spain; and the honourable gentleman has not satisfied me that there are not the elements for effecting such an object. If the honourable gentleman's argument were a sound one, it would go to establish the principle that the more degraded and wretched a people are in consequence of bad government, the stronger is the necessity of making no effort whatever to raise them from their appalling state. The doctrine of the honourable member, if I may be permitted to say so, is founded on a revolutionary principle; for by it there is no alternative to a state of hopeless degradation, but violent convulsions and bloody revolutions. I shall not now discuss the affairs of the expedition to Fontarabia, but if the generals engaged in the service of the Queen of Spain always evince the same prudence and vigour, the anticipations as to the success of Don Carlos would not be so confidently expressed. When the general found obstacles which he had not calculated on, and saw that a siege would become necessary, for which event he had not made any preparations, like a prudent man and a wise one, he retired; but he did so in a skilful and masterly

manner. But this has nothing to do with the question. The real question before the House is, whether or not Government has acted wisely in its conduct towards Spain. Ought we, when the Queen succeeded to the throne on the death of Ferdinand, to have stood aloof, or embraced her cause? This is a fair question, fully open to discussion, and admitting a difference of opinion. The honourable gentleman has one opinion; I entertain another. In my opinion, the course adopted by England with respect to Spain has been consistent with our dignity and with sound policy. I hold the alteration in the succession of the throne of Spain to be rendered perfectly legitimate, and to have been sanctioned not only by Ferdinand, but by his predecessor and the Cortes; and afterwards adopted by the Spanish nation assembled under the Regency. Well, is it then consistent with the interests of England that this country should pursue the course which it has adopted with regard to Spain? This country had no hand in bringing about the present situation of the Spanish crown. It did not prescribe or dictate any Sovereign to Spain, but supported, as far as it was consistent with its interests, the Sovereign chosen by the Spanish nation. It would have been inconsistent with the true principles of the British Constitution, and repugnant to the best practice of the English Government, for this country to have denied the validity of the change which has taken place, sanctioned as it was by all the constitutional organs of the Spanish nation. We adopted the only course which was consistent with our interests; and I do not think that in persevering in it we have exceeded the limits prescribed by the terms and spirit of the contract on which we have acted. If the Quadru-

partite Treaty be an improper one, why was it not opposed at an earlier period? Why not object to it when first propounded? or, why did not the party opposite take means to set it aside when they were in office? On the contrary, did they not themselves figure in the fulfilment of its provisions?

House of Commons. August 5, 1836.

Decline of English influence abroad denied.

With respect to the assertion, that the moral influence of England has declined since I came into office, I think it rather inconsistent with the host of assailants which the same policy has called up with regard to Belgium, Portugal, and Spain, to affirm that the power of England has through the instrumentality of the present Government, sunk to the lowest degree of insignificance. It is rather surprising that the Government which the honourable gentleman represents to be in so unfortunate a position, should obtain so much countenance and respect from foreign countries, as to be made the arbiter of their disputes; and when we find two great naval powers like France and America—each of them in former times opposed to us in war, and each of them supposed to be our rivals in the arts of peace as well as in the pursuits of war—when we find them conceding to us the adjustment of their differences, I think I may appeal with confidence to that single fact, in reply to the statement of the honourable member for Sandwich, and say, that whatever is the estimate formed of us by the honourable gentleman, or those

with whom he communicates, France and America, at least, do not seem persuaded that our "moral influence" has sunk to so low a state as the honourable gentleman would have it believed.

Ibid.

Principle of expulsion of refugees.

It is undoubtedly true that every independent nation has an indisputable right to afford protection and the rights of hospitality to any foreigners who may take refuge there; but it is also a duty of every country to maintain the relations of good neighbourhood with the bordering States; and it is the interest of every power which exercises the rights of hospitality to take care that the persons enjoying them do not abuse them to the purpose of forming and executing conspiracies to disturb the tranquillity of neighbouring States. My honourable friend has said that he believes some of the refugees in Switzerland have availed themselves of their position there to concoct a conspiracy against the Duchy of Baden. I know that the French Government conceive, on grounds with which I am not acquainted, but which I give that Government credit for supposing to be substantial ones, that there are in Switzerland a number of persons who have connected and combined themselves in a conspiracy for the purpose of overturning the existing French Government, and disturbing the tranquillity of France. Acting on that conviction, the French Government applied to the Swiss Confederation to have certain individuals expelled from its territory. If I

might presume to give advice to the Swiss Government in such a case, it would be that the course to be pursued under such circumstances, and conformably with the good understanding that ought to prevail betwixt neighbouring States, would be, that any persons who are really guilty of such practices should be requested to leave the country, the shelter of which they have so abused. It is not to be supposed that the French Government has acted lightly in this instance, or without sufficient grounds, especially when it is considered that, up to the present time, the French Government itself has pursued a very different conduct towards the Swiss Confederation; for it has endeavoured to dissuade other States from pressing the Government of Switzerland for the removal of foreign refugees from its territory. I assume, therefore, that it has been upon good and valid grounds that this demand of the French Government has been made. As far as the policy of the English Government is concerned, I feel fully the importance of maintaining the independence of Switzerland. Any advice, therefore, which may be given to it by the English Government will be given by a friendly power, always bearing in mind that it is of the greatest importance to the European policy of England to maintain and uphold the independence of the Swiss Confederation.

House of Commons. August 9, 1836.

Admission of Ladies to the gallery.

As an appeal is made to me as a member of his Majesty's Government, and as I wish that there should

be no misunderstanding on this question with regard to my view of it, I feel it right to say, as this is not a Cabinet question—I am very glad it is not a Cabinet question!—I differ from my right honourable friend, and I will vote for the resolution now in the hands of the House. I cannot think that any inconvenience can possibly arise to our proceedings, or to the ladies themselves, by allowing them to be present to hear the debates. I am quite satisfied that whatever interest the novelty may produce on the first or second evening, it will soon wear off, and we shall pursue our avocations without thinking of the ladies' gallery at all; and we shall say, as an honourable member once said of another gallery, when he was told by a friend to speak louder, because he was not heard in the gallery: "Really, when one speaks, one forgets that there is such a thing as a gallery." My honourable friend, the member for Truro, seems to think that the ladies could scarcely wish to take any interest in the discussions which take place; but I consider that they have naturally a great deal of interest in them.

House of Commons. August 10, 1836.

The Texan Revolt.

The inhabitants of Texas revolted against the Mexican Government, who took steps to repress the revolt; in which, however, they were defeated. The Government of Mexico, determined not to give the matter up, have equipped a fresh army, and are preparing to renew the

attack in the ensuing spring. As far, then, as Mexico and Texas are concerned, the facts are simply these:—that the latter has revolted, and that the former is determined to suppress that revolt. I apprehend that, as far as relates to the dispute, the English Government is not called upon to interfere, or to send assistance in order to re-establish the authority of Mexico in her revolted dominions.

House of Commons. March 9, 1837.

The Quadruple Treaty.—Spain and Portugal.

I now pass on to the Treaty of Quadruple Alliance, which has been much dwelt upon by the honourable member. The honourable member has stated that the principle of our engagement in that treaty was founded in mistake; that we engaged to establish a quadruple alliance, which should be a counterbalance in the southwest to any alliance which might be formed by the powers of the north. The honourable gentleman maintains that that treaty reposes on unstable foundation; that the accession of Portugal was powerless and null; that we have reduced, by our means, Spain to a condition in which she labours under the worst restraints of bondage and depression, with so-called liberal institutions; and that we have no right to rely for the security of this alliance upon the professions of a State presided over by so distracted a Government as that of France. I differ from the honourable gentleman upon every one of these points; I say that Portugal, though not yet recovered

from the fierce struggle in the midst of which she has acquired her free institutions, is now in that situation in which she must be looked upon as one of the substantive powers of Europe. I say that Spain, notwithstanding the confident predictions of the honourable member, holds out to us a fair and legitimate hope that she may yet become what she has been in former times, a flourishing and even a formidable power among the European kingdoms.

Debate on Spain. March 10, 1837.

The alliance between England and France.

If the honourable gentleman supposes (Mr. G. Price) that the alliance between England and France is dissolved, and if parties in Europe—who wish to effect, because they fancy that their interest is identified with the cessation of that alliance—suppose that it has ceased, I assure the honourable member that he and they are mistaken, and that no alliance, founded on a right perception of the mutual interests of two great nations, was ever destined to a longer existence. The existing connection between France and England is founded on their common interests. These nations will long continue to have the same friends and the same enemies; and in all important questions of European policy and government will have the same interests. I look upon their present relations as a stable alliance between the two nations, not merely between their respective Governments. Any hopes, therefore, which the honourable member may repose on the cessation of that

alliance will, I am afraid, on his account, prove exceedingly fallacious.

Debate on Spain. March 10, 1837.

The nature of the influence which England exercises with foreign countries.

The noble Lord (Lord Mahon) says that the Governments of France and the United States of America have obtained redress from Spain, for commercial injuries, when we could not do so. I deny that fact. The noble Lord is entirely mistaken, if he supposes that the commerce of America or France is better protected in Spain than our own. He talks much of the influence which he says we ought to possess in Spain, and which, in my opinion, though not in his, we do possess. Now, that is a very favourite topic with individuals who adopt the opinions of the noble Lord. What do they mean by "influence in foreign countries?" Do they mean that influence which consists in the power of procuring the dismissal of one ministry in a foreign country, by underhand intrigues, and the substitution of another, by means equally objectionable? If that be the influence which we are accused, Sir, of not possessing in Spain, I am happy to acknowledge that it is one which we certainly do not possess. That is a species of influence which, I trust, no English Government will ever seek to exercise; and if they do make the attempt, they will well deserve signally to fail. But if, by influence, the noble Lord means that respect which is felt in foreign countries for the English na-

tion—for the English character—that promptitude to give redress for injuries, however involuntarily inflicted, and that friendly disposition which manifests itself in continued acts of kindness to others, and acknowledgments of kindnesses received from others—that influence, I contend, without fear of contradiction, we do possess.

Ibid.

The motive which dictated English interference in the affairs of Spain.

Having stated generally the reasons which have induced his Majesty's Government to wish success to the cause of the present possessor of the crown of Spain, I proceed to look a little at the character of the contest. A disputed succession, by the universal practice of the States of Europe, has always been considered to carry with it a political interest, confined not merely to that country in which the disputed succession takes place—not merely to that particular kingdom—but it becomes a question of general interest to Europe. We did not interfere in this case of Spain, in the ordinary sense of the word, for the purpose of imposing upon the Spanish people a government to which they themselves were averse, or which they themselves had not adopted. We did not interfere, in this instance, in the manner in which it was apprehended that the Government of this country, in the year 1830, were about to interfere in the case of Belgium—that is to say, with the wishes of the Belgian people—for the purpose of preventing, by an overwhelming force, that people from

assuming that political position which they were determined to occupy. We considered that the question, "who should be sovereign of Spain?" involved very grave questions of European interests; questions of no less importance than those which were to determine what should hereafter be the foreign tendencies, and who the foreign allies of Spain. At different periods of her history, I might almost say within a century past, we have seen Spain connected with different crowns—at one time with Austria, at another with France; now we wish to see neither an Austrian-Spain nor a French-Spain, but a Spain which shall be essentially Spanish. If any man will tell me that he considers this an object of no high importance to this country, I must consider him as one who takes but a very short-sighted view of the true interests, not of Spain alone—not alone of England—but of the general interests of Europe. But I presume that, in this House, I need hardly insist that such a person does not see that the settlement of this question is essential to the peace of European powers. I say that it is to the interest of England that Spain should be rich, that she should be powerful, that she should be independent. It is quite clear, that under such a Government as existed in Spain during the reign of Ferdinand, that country never could be independent, or powerful, or rich. The noble Lord says, that Spain has been reduced to her melancholy condition of degradation by a long continuance of arbitrary government; and this he adduced as a reason why it was in vain to hope that, by any degree of assistance which we could render to her falling fortunes, we could extricate her—we could retrieve her from that abasement into which she has fallen, and so

regenerate as to make her a power worthy once more to take her place among the dominions of Europe, and as an ally of Great Britain. Why, Sir, for one, I by no means despair of seeing that noble result accomplished.

I have lived to see great progress already made towards effecting the attainment of that purpose. I tell the noble Lord, that if Spain shall establish herself as a free and constitutional Government—if she shall be, as she must be in that case, a free and substantive power—beyond all doubt we shall find her useful in the general system of Europe in maintaining the balance of power, and useful as an available friend of England, with respect even to our commercial interests.

Debate on Spain. March 10, 1839.

Sympathizers with Despotism.

I cannot help regretting that honourable gentlemen on the other side of this House should, in all the views which they announce on questions of foreign policy, seem always, by some fatality, to sympathize with arbitrary and despotic government. I cannot help regretting that they should view with averted and disdainful eye the efforts of every country which is endeavouring to establish freedom, and that they should condemn those so pointedly, who, by good offices or friendly co-operation, engage in the attempt to assist such nations in forming free establishments. When I see they view with favour despotism wherever it exists—when I hear the cheers and mark the tones of some honourable members—I would ask, who

were the friends and supporters of Dom Miguel up to the very last moment that there was a hope of his success? And why, Sir, were they his friends? Was it, as they themselves stated, not that he was an usurper, but that they cherished him because he was a despot? There is not one of them who will acknowledge, who will venture to acknowledge, from his place on the opposite benches, that he wishes well to Don Carlos; yet most of them in their hearts desire his success. And who are they who wish for the success of Don Carlos? And why? Is it because he would be an usurper if he could? No! I will not believe it.

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I should be sorry indeed—I should be utterly ashamed—if I could suppose for one moment that it was from any feeling in favour of Don Carlos personally, that honourable gentlemen opposite could be found to support his cause. Then, what is the reason they oppose the Government, on this occasion, and support Don Carlos? It is, Sir, because he is labouring to suppress the liberties of Spain.

Debate on Spain. March 10, 1837.

The general policy of the Government.

We have been accused of favouring innovations, and encouraging revolution. But that accusation is unfounded and unjust. We have, indeed, given our moral support—we have given our good wishes—to this great Spanish nation, who have been endeavouring, of their own accord, to improve their institutions, and to imitate, though at

a distance, the proud example of this country, by acquiring the inestimable privileges of representative government. It has been the part of His Majesty's Ministers to give their acquiescence in, and support to these objects, as we were bound to do. We may say, that during the period in which we have had the honour to administer the affairs of this country, the principles of national liberty have made greater progress in Europe than they have ever before made, within the same time, at any period of our history. To the diffusion of these principles we have given every support, and it is our boast that we have done so. Of what I am now about to mention, I must not boast, because other Administrations, unquestionably, are entitled to share in any praise which may attach to such a course, as having had a large share in the arrangements by which it has been followed out. Yet on this, at least we may be said to have reason to congratulate ourselves—that during the period for which we have been responsible for the conduct of affairs in this country, the people in Belgium have been free, happy, powerful, and tranquil; that Portugal, which had been worse governed than Spain, and of which the natural resources had been, so to speak, crushed and exhausted, and rendered unavailing by a long course of misgovernment—Portugal has established free institutions, is prepared to profit by them, and is on the high road to that prosperity which, in my own opinion, free institutions alone can open to a country. Spain, notwithstanding the discouraging predictions of the honourable member for Sandwich (Mr. Grove Price), I may be allowed to hope, and that hope is founded on very recent and authentic information, may yet follow the

example which has been set to her by Belgium and by Portugal. She may yet become, with the same friendly assistance, which England has been lately affording her, what she was in former times—a great and powerful member of the European community. If she shall do so, she will accomplish that destiny, not by experiments founded on a crude system of innovation and revolution, but by regenerating her ancient and national institutions—by becoming again a free country, such as, in a modified sense, and according to the spirit of ancient times, she so long continued to be, and by renewing those institutions, adapted in their forms to the altered condition and exigencies of society ; by these means, and these means alone, it will be that Spain will recover and retrieve herself from that state of degradation into which the noble Lord tells us she has now been plunged for a century. And if she shall do this, I humbly beg to say for myself, that, notwithstanding all the taunts, and all the reproaches to which I have been exposed from the noble Lord and honourable house—if I may claim, however humble a share in the triumph of bringing about such a state of things—I shall feel a high degree of pride, and the most lasting satisfaction.

Ibid.

The secret of Free Commerce.

But the honourable and learned member (Mr. Roebuck) made a very singular proposition—he said, “ I care not for the balance of power, I care only for the commerce of England ; I care not if one power gain possession of the

whole world, as long as the commerce of England is maintained." But what would be the position of our commerce if the honourable and learned gentleman's proposition were established? What would be the position of England, if her commerce with all the rest of the world happened to depend on one single will, by which the whole of the rest of the world was governed and directed? I am sure he would see that his indifference on one side, and his anxiety on the other, are incompatible in their results, and that the only mode of continuing a free commerce is, to keep a watchful eye upon that balance of power, which he thinks should not be a matter to occupy so much attention as the Government are disposed to lavish upon it.

Debate on the seizure of the 'Vixen.' March 17, 1837.

The contest of the sword and of opinion.

I beg, Sir, that we may hear none of this affecting compassion for these Basques fighting for their privileges. The "poor Basques" are made the victims of persons who have other views, and by whom arbitrary power is sought to be supported. The war which is carrying on in the Basque provinces is not a war between the institutions of Spain and the institutions of Biscay. It is there, upon that contracted scene, that is to be decided by the issue of battle that great contest between the opposing and conflicting principles of government—arbitrary government on the one hand, and constitutional government on the other—that contest which is going on

all over Europe ; only, fortunately for mankind, in other countries it is waged by arguments instead of by arms, and the peace of nations is not disturbed by it. I trust that in all countries, ere long, that contest will be carried on in the same manner that I am now describing. I trust that no violence of party, either on the one hand or the other, may disturb the peaceful character by which that contest is carried on in almost every country in Europe. But that is the contest, that is the question at issue ; and those who try to limit us to the question of the privileges of the Basques give an unfair and unjust representation of the real nature of the contest now going on.

Debate on Spain. April 19, 1837.

The Quadruple Treaty.

There are those on the other side of the House who know, fully as well as I do, upon what circumstances and for what objects that treaty was concluded. Every man—even the most superficial observer—must have clearly perceived, that the change which was made in the succession to the Spanish crown, though it was made by the will of the Sovereign, carrying into effect also the recorded will of a predecessor—though it was sanctioned by the constitutional authorities of the country—though it was adopted by the people at large, and though, therefore, it was accompanied by every circumstance of legality and regularity, yet that that change in the succession laid the foundation for a great revolution in Spain. It was not merely the substitution of a grown man for an infant

female. It was evident—it was anticipated, that out of that change must grow an entire change in the internal institutions of Spain; and that, with such a change in its internal institutions, there would also arise a change in the tendencies of its external policy.

Upon this subject, I will take the liberty of saying a few words to my right honourable friend who has seconded the present motion (Sir Stratford Canning), and who, not deliberately, I am sure, but in a moment which must perfectly excuse anything he may have done under the circumstances, adverted to the instructions under which he acted when he went on his mission to Spain.

[Several honourable members, “ Oh ! oh ! Hear ! ”]

I can assure my right honourable friend, it is the last thing I could do towards any person to whom I give the name of friend, to say anything intending that it should be at all painful to the feelings of that individual. Therefore, it is not with any view to himself, that I advert to what he did. He must, I am sure, in his cooler moments, consider that he was not at liberty to advert to instructions given to him upon a mission which he had fulfilled. I wish to call to his mind what then took place; and when he stated a portion of the instructions he then received, I must be allowed to follow his example, and allude to what occurred on the same occasion. I wish to suggest to him, as bearing on the subject, the object for which he was sent to the Peninsular, and the purpose he was employed to carry into effect. Does my right honourable friend forget the purpose which rendered it necessary to send a legation to Spain, and to take the steps which followed? Does he not recollect the instructions he

received on going out? My right honourable friend left this country in December, 1832, and arrived at Madrid at the commencement of 1833; and he went, as he stated, at a moment when the death of the King was apprehended. It may have been said, and is, no doubt, by some contended, that this change in the succession of the crown of Spain was a decree wrung from King Ferdinand in his last extremity. That, however, is now a matter well understood, and upon which it is not necessary for me to dwell. The direct effect of the proposition to be made to the Spanish nation under these instructions, I say, was this: The King, Ferdinand, had resolved that his daughter Isabella, and not his brother Carlos, should succeed him on the throne of Spain. It then appeared that Donna Isabella was placed in a situation analogous to that of Donna Maria in Portugal. Under these circumstances, my right honourable friend went out to urge the adoption of that course of policy that was deemed desirable for the interests of both countries in the Peninsular. He had, in conformity with his instructions, to represent to Ferdinand that, if that monarch was anxious that his daughter Isabella, and not his brother Carlos, should succeed him on the throne of Spain, his policy should be directed to the establishment of Donna Maria, and that Dom Miguel should not be allowed to succeed in placing himself on the throne of Portugal, although, however, Ferdinand had hitherto supported his cause. That is to say, that as Isabella, and not Don Carlos, was to succeed to the throne, and as Isabella was, in Spain, placed in the same relative situation with respect to her uncle, Don Carlos, as a competitor for the throne, as Donna Maria was with regard to

her uncle, Dom Miguel, in Portugal—the policy of Spain should be, that Donna Maria should succeed to the throne of Portugal, and that Spain should take every means within her power to promote that object. This policy, I contend, was certainly in harmony with the treaty which we have been discussing, and in conformity with the course which has been actually taken, because the treaty was founded on the assumption that the will of Ferdinand would be carried into effect, and that his own views would tend to enforce the object of it. The treaty which has been entered upon will bear out our views, as it was in conformity with the instructions which my right honourable friend then advocated. Those interests which he then advanced were adverse to those which, he will permit me to say, he, not without some inconsistency, now advocates. I say, that the change that took place in the policy of the Government of Spain was the natural consequence of the change in the order of succession that was established. It so happened that, up to the death of Ferdinand, Spain had invariably exhibited the greatest hostility to the Government of Donna Maria in Portugal, and had supported Dom Miguel in every possible indirect manner, and even had proceeded to the extent of offering the assistance of troops. From the time that Ferdinand died, a change took place in the conduct of the Spanish Government towards Portugal. This country had hitherto remained neutral, in the contest that was going on in Portugal as to the succession to the Government of that country, as my right honourable friend well knows. What was then the language of my right honourable friend to Spain, with reference to the policy of Ferdinand

towards the Government of Portugal? He said to the Spanish authorities, "If you send a single man in arms across the frontier of Portugal to assist Miguel, the British fleet in the Tagus will instantly co-operate, in every possible way, with the forces of Donna Maria. If, however, you do not send troops, or otherwise interfere, we will not take part in the contest." What was the result? Spain remained neutral; and, so far, the object in view was accomplished. What happened on the death of Ferdinand? So far from our taking part in the cause of Dom Miguel against the cause of Donna Maria, a change of policy instantly occurred. A Spanish minister came to London to ask the English Government to send a force to assist in expelling Dom Miguel from Portugal, and also to co-operate with the establishment of Donna Maria. Nothing was more natural than this; because Don Carlos at that time was in Portugal, organizing an army for the invasion of Spain. What was the answer of the English Government? "We will not comply with your request; we will not give the assistance you desire to the cause of Donna Maria; we have taken our line of policy, and we do not intend to depart from it. We will, however, give you something which will be of advantage to you—we will not give you an army, but we will give you a treaty." This offer was accepted; and now let us see what this treaty was. One of the objects of the Spanish Government was, that part of the Spanish army should be allowed to pass the frontier and enter Portugal, with the view of taking steps to put down the army of Carlos; and for the attainment of this object, it was necessary to enter into a convention between the Spanish and Portu-

guese Governments. This afforded an opportunity for the attainment of a greater object. The English Government said, "We will embrace the opportunity afforded by the circumstances of this treaty, to join the four great constitutional powers of the West of Europe, namely, France, England, Spain, and Portugal, in one alliance—we will unite them for the attainment of one common and general object." England and France, it is needless to say, had for ages been at mutual enmity. Spain and Portugal, for a long period of years, had been accustomed to regard each other with feelings of extreme national jealousy; and, without going into all its bearings and contingent possibilities, none of these powers could help feeling that such a treaty could not fail to be of material assistance towards preserving the peace of Europe, thus uniting the four great powers, between whom there were so many points of contest and difference constantly arising, in one common and compact alliance. We proposed this alliance to the French Government, and that great power joyfully acceded to it. I need not say, that the offer of this treaty was thankfully received by the Spanish Government, and the Queen of Spain seized with alacrity the opportunity of adopting it.

Debate on Spain. April 19, 1837.

Its Effect.

The right honourable gentleman, in the corner opposite, laughed when I mentioned, that we had given to Spain—not, indeed, an army, but—a treaty; but I am not sur-

prised at this, as they have been so much accustomed to laugh at treaties and protocols; and no doubt they think they are justified in doing so, as they have paid so much attention, and listened so assiduously, to the subject; they may therefore suppose that this treaty was of no weight or importance; they may think that it was a mere mockery as to Spain and Portugal. The treaty was concluded in April, 1834, and was ratified in London I believe, on the 31st of May, and was then sent to Portugal to be signed at Lisbon and returned to England. This mode of proceeding was in strict conformity with the stipulations of diplomacy, for the gentlemen opposite are aware that a treaty is not in force until the ratifications are exchanged. But such was the effect of this treaty, that before the ratifications were exchanged, before the ratifications were received in London, Dom Miguel, although at the head of an army of twelve thousand men, found it necessary to surrender to the forces of the Queen, to abandon Portugal without further resistance, and to leave that country to peace and tranquillity. Thus the pretenders to the two thrones of the Peninsular abandoned Portugal.

Debate on Spain. April 19, 1837.

The preamble of the Treaty.

If, I say, instead of a treaty, the English Government had offered the assistance of an army of twenty thousand men, the same result, the same fortunate compromise, would not have been produced in the same time. But

this treaty consisted of two parts. In the first place, there was the general principle and the object of it, as stated in the preamble ; and in the second part, there was the general acts of the executive, by means of which those objects were to be attained. Now, the preamble, to which I wish to call the attention of the House, is important to my statement as showing the nature of these views and objects. Honourable gentlemen opposite have said, that it merely applies to the invasion of Portugal by the army of General Rodil, and to the object then immediately in view, namely, the expulsion of the forces of the Pretender, Don Carlos ; that there its intentions terminated. But the fact was not so. The preamble says no such thing. The words of this preamble are, that "Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain, during the minority of her daughter, Donna Isabella the Second, Queen of Spain, and his Imperial Majesty the Duke of Braganza, Regent of the kingdom of Portugal and of the Algarves, in the name of the Queen Donna Maria the Second, being impressed with a deep conviction that the interests of the two crowns" (the object, then, was not merely securing the inheritance of the crown of Portugal, but the inheritance of the crowns of both kingdoms, Spain and Portugal) "being impressed with a deep conviction that the interests of the two crowns, and the security of their respective dominions, require the immediate and vigorous exertions of their joint efforts to put an end to hostilities, which, though directed in the first instance against the throne of his most faithful Majesty, now afford shelter and support to disaffected and rebellious subjects of the crown of Spain." Now, from this passage, it is obvious that, not merely the expulsion of Don Carlos from

Spain, but the interests of both nations were considered to be involved. And this construction is fortified by what follows. The preamble proceeds: "And their Majesties being desirous at the same time to provide the necessary means for restoring to the subjects of each the blessings of internal peace, and to confirm by mutual good offices the friendship which they are desirous of establishing and cementing between their respective States." Where, however, let me ask, would be this "mutuality of good offices," if the treaty was meant to be binding on one party only, as regarded the expulsion of Don Carlos from Portugal? But the preamble thus goes on: "They have come to the determination of uniting their forces, in order to compel the Infant Don Carlos of Spain, and the Infant Dom Miguel of Portugal, to withdraw from the Portuguese dominions." The obvious purpose, then, of this was not merely to compel Don Carlos to withdraw from a place where he was not. Where, I repeat, would have been the mutuality here spoken of, if an army was to be sent by one of those contracting powers only, to compel Don Carlos to depart from—whence? From Portugal. Why he was not in that kingdom. Such a treaty would, indeed, have been well worthy of the merriment of honourable gentlemen opposite.

Debate on Spain. April 19, 1837.

Its Scope.

In consequence of this argument to provide for the security of the two countries, and to secure the internal

peace of the two kingdoms, these two powers then addressed themselves to the King of England and the King of the French. What were the answers of the King of England and the King of the French? Was the answer of the King of England to the effect: "Although I am bound, by treaty, to Portugal, to afford her aid and assistance under certain circumstances, I have no interest in Spain: I will, therefore, abstain from being a party to the treaty?" No, nothing of the kind. The King of England and the King of the French recognize the first objects they had in view, in joining this treaty; for they expressly say: "That their Majesties, considering the interest they must always take in the security of the Spanish monarchy, and being further animated by the most anxious desire to assist in the establishment of peace in the Peninsular." But did the sovereigns of France and England stop here? No, again. They added: "as well as in every other part of Europe." The citation of these words appears to provoke a laugh in some quarters of the House. But do honourable members really think that the peace of the Peninsular has no connection with the peace of the other countries of Europe? Sir, I can tell those honourable gentlemen that if Don Carlos were to succeed in establishing his authority in Spain—if he were to become the ruler of the Spanish monarchy, in which the King of England has declared that "he takes so lively an interest," the peace of Spain might be said, in truth, to be restored there; because, where an iron despotism overwhelms the land, there will the tranquillity of death prevail.

Ibid.

*The revolution in Spain analogous to those of England
in 1688, and France in July 1830.*

This change of the succession then in Spain, I have before called "a revolution;" and I say now, that the present Government of Spain has been established by that revolution. I am aware that this circumstance forms one of the fundamental points of difference between those who are the advocates of the principle of "Divine right," and those who contend for the principle on which our own existing constitution is principally founded. I know that there is a party who believe that nations and thrones are like private estates; that you cannot deprive any heir in succession of his inheritance, without his own consent. I know that there is another party, who hold that governments and governors are constituted for the benefit of nations; and that there necessarily exists in every nation, especially as regards its principal organ, the power of changing the constitution, if it be clearly obnoxious to the great mass of the people. This was the principle on which our own Government was founded in 1688. This is the principle on which the present Government of France, created by the revolution of 1830, also rests. I maintain, that the change of the succession to the crown of Spain, by Ferdinand—that the establishment of the Government of Isabella—proceeded on the same principle; and was as much a revolution, although a peaceable revolution—a peaceful one, if you please—as was that of England in 1688, or that of July, in France. It was brought about by the legitimate organs of the nation; and I will not

dispute that some of the consequences which have followed from it are the calamities that now afflict parts of Spain.

Debate on Spain. April 19, 1837.

To have acted differently towards Spain under the treaty would have been a breach of faith.

Sir, I say that, looking at the manner in which this treaty has been executed on our parts, we have not done more for Spain than Spain was entitled to demand at our hands; and I say further, that if we had done less, we should have been guilty of a great breach of faith. I am glad that the charge now brought against us is of this nature. I rejoice that I do not stand here to defend the Government of which I am a member from a charge so overwhelming as that of having broken faith with a deceived and deluded ally—that I am not standing here to vindicate us for having meanly evaded an engagement—for having basely abandoned a friend in a moment of difficulty and danger. The charge that I am repelling is, that we have acted with too much good faith—that we have executed our engagements too completely—that we have, in the opinions of persons not, indeed, our friends, and therefore persons who may not be altogether inclined to see our merits, but more likely to look at and remark upon our faults, that we have gone a little, and how little it is they say—that we have even gone something beyond the point which we were strictly, and by their own acknowledgment, bound to go to.

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I say, then, that what we are charged with is that to which we plead guilty, namely, an honest, honourable, manful, and straightforward fulfilment of our engagements—a resolute determination not to quibble with an ally, and not to shuffle out of the fulfilment of a treaty into which we had advisedly and freely entered. And I say further, holding, as I do, a responsible situation under the Crown, which is a position in which men must lay it to their account to be attacked by the party opposed to them,—I only pray to Heaven, that so long as I have the honour of retaining office in the Government I have the good fortune to act with, I may never be exposed to any more serious attack than this—that, in the execution of our engagements with foreign powers, we have gone not only to their full extent, not only that we have here fulfilled a compact to the letter, but that, out of a sense of delicacy towards our ally, we have, if possible, gone beyond it. I trust that such a charge may be the heaviest which it may be my lot to have to meet.

Debate on Spain. April 19, 1837.

A comparison between the state of Europe in 1830 and in 1837.

The right honourable baronet (Sir R. Peel) deploras that, in consequence of our unfortunate foreign policy, and our total want of influence amongst our foreign neighbours, we have not been able to make—what?—a Government for France. These, too, are your non-intervention gentlemen—those who would have given “no imaginable

case" to interfere with the political condition of foreign States, and who yet taunt us with the changes that have lately taken place in the ministry and constitution of Spain. "Where, too, is our influence in Spain?" exclaims the right honourable baronet. "Have not they changed their constitution; have not they had the Estatuto Real, then the constitution of 1812, and then this latter again discarded; have not they had Martinez de la Rosa, followed by Toreno, and then by Mendizabal; have they not, in fact, had one change after another, without rest or intermission? And where, then, is all your influence, to allow of such proceedings?" Then, besides all this, we have actually had, it seems, one frigate and three brigs at Passages, and four hundred marines! And finally, it is asked, is it not disgraceful that we should permit such things to go on? Now, as the right honourable baronet has been pleased to taunt us with the extremities to which we have reduced ourselves and our foreign relations, I should wish very much to compare, as he appears to challenge the comparison, the position of affairs now, with the state of them when he was in power. I wish for no other ground on which to call for a vote to-night, or upon which to go to my constituents at the hustings, than a comparison between the state of our foreign relations at the present moment, with what it was in 1830. In 1830, when—I will not say the Government of the day fled from the helm, and left the ship to the mercy of the waves and winds—but when, I believe, most assuredly, they were not sorry to see the vessel boarded, and themselves driven forwards, and compelled to surrender their charge: I do not wish to dwell upon the internal state of the country at that time.

I will not compare the state of discontent and irritation which prevailed throughout the United Kingdom at that period, with the tranquillity and content which are, at the present day, everywhere to be seen. I will not compare the lawless and unruly excesses of the agricultural population at that time, when bonfires blazed in the farm-yard and in the corn-field, with the industrious toil which distinguishes the agricultural population at the present period, and the peaceful fires which warm the hearth of the happy peasant on his return at night to repose in the bosom of his family. I will not go, however, into all these domestic topics; but allow me to ask the right honourable baronet, what was the general opinion of the state of our foreign relations as they then existed, compared with that which is ascertained of them now? In 1830, was there one man belonging to the present opposition who believed that peace could be maintained? was there one man amongst them who expressed his opinion in public, who did not confidently state that peace could not be maintained by us for six months longer? This declaration was made not only in conversation across the table of this House, for on one occasion, when sitting beside an honourable member on the same bench, was I not warned in these deliberate and prophetic words: "If an angel were to come down from heaven to write your despatches, even that interposition would not prevent you from having a war within the next six months."

Now, no angel has come down from heaven to write our despatches, and yet we have succeeded in maintaining peace, not for six months, but for six years from that day. But do I mean to infer that these honourable gentlemen

were not sincere when they announced these direful forebodings? On the contrary, I believe that they were sincere, and that there was good reason why they should be so; because, with their avowed opinions, and their known political tendencies, and knowing the opinions entertained by Europe at large with regard to their policy, they were right in the opinion that they could not hope, at that juncture, to escape for six months longer from the calamity which thus threatened them. I will not say that, if they had remained in office six months longer than they did, they would inevitably have had a war, because that is an event which no man can certainly predict. But I do say, that on a general consideration of their principles and of the opinions entertained of those principles by the vast majority of the public, and of the then position of affairs—to have hoped to escape from war for that period, would have been neither a justifiable nor a rational expectation. Europe would have been engaged in hostilities. But did we, even at that period, ever express a thought of this kind? did we ever proclaim that war was inevitable? We said the exact contrary, and pledged ourselves to maintain peace. That pledge we have redeemed; and I do say, that when we consider the calamities which war brings in its train, destroying the fruits of industry, retarding improvement, and turning back, as it were, the tide of civilization, the House must feel that those materially contribute to the happiness of the world who, in the present discharge of their duty, have averted such a disastrous state of things—that their labour has not been fruitless who have toiled in so good a cause.

So much for a general comparison between the state of

Europe now and in 1830. Not to go into details connected with the condition of each particular country (which would occupy much time), there are still one or two cases which I feel it necessary to notice. Now what was the state of Belgium in 1830? A state of as complete anarchy and confusion as any country was ever reduced to. What is her condition now? It is the most tranquil, the most prosperous, and one of the most happy and contented nations in Europe. Yet if there is any topic upon which more than another it has been my lot to be made the subject of bad jokes and pointless arrows, the affairs of Belgium have been that well-filled armoury.

[Honourable members on the opposition benches, "hear," and "oh! oh."]

I say pointless jokes; but from that quiver more of such shafts have been launched at me than from any other. When a laugh was wanted to be raised at my expense, any honourable member on a back bench had nothing to do, but to utter the word "protocol," and he was sure to elicit the laugh. He was sure to excite the laughter of those, most of whom, perhaps, never troubled their heads before to know what a protocol was. But they knew they had but to mention the word to raise the laugh. "Talk to us not of Protocols." After all, they are not bad things. Why, Sir, if not our seventy protocols only, but seventy times seventy had been written, and had succeeded in tranquillizing Belgium, and avoiding a general war throughout Europe, I really think that they would, after all, have done no inconsiderable service. But now let us take the case of Portugal. I will not expatiate upon the

calamities of Portugal (because they are well known to many gentlemen who hear me) nor the indignities which England had experienced in 1830, from the Government of that country (because these appear on the face of papers that have been formally laid before the House); but I will simply state my conviction that Dom Miguel, whom at the moment we had denounced as a usurper, would, in six months, had the opposition continued in power, have been acknowledged King of Portugal; and in six years, Don Carlos would have been recognised as King of Spain.

Then I come to Spain. How do we stand there? I contend that our relations with Spain are now, undoubtedly, greatly improved, as compared with what they were at that time. But it is said—what, have you since that time acquired any influence in Spain? I answer, yes; and, to give you proof of this, I will point to the treaty which we have completed with that power for the suppression of the slave trade, an act of humanity and justice which ought to have been granted long since, but which no power of diplomacy on the part of England had hitherto been able to extract from the Spanish Government. Besides this, I am prepared to contend that our commerce with Spain stands on a much better footing now than it did at that time. With respect to the alleged ascendancy of Russia, I am not called upon to speak, on the present question, further than this—that I believe the respect and good wishes of that power, as well as of Spain, can be obtained only by good faith, and a strict adherence to treaties and engagements.

Debate on Spain. April 19, 1837.

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Our Ambassador at Madrid.—His judicious conduct.

I am bound to say, however, that the respect which Spain has for this country is, in a great measure, owing to the able, judicious, and wise conduct of the representative of the British Government at Madrid—because, founding every claim which we might have to that respect and influence upon the pretensions of our good faith, good credit, and fairness and propriety of demeanour, we could not expect to stand, as we fortunately do stand, in the affections and good opinion of the Spaniards, if the gentleman, who represents us at Madrid, had not uniformly upheld the character, and responded to the feelings and opinions of the British Government. There never was a period at which the British name was more esteemed by the Spanish nation—that the British resident at the Court of Madrid was more beloved—or that British individuals, travelling through Spain, were treated with more civility, or experienced greater marks of esteem, than at this day.

Debate on Spain. April 19, 1837.

The two contending principles of Government.

I say then, I am not to blame—whether viewing the subject generally or in detail—for putting this question upon its true footing; namely, upon the choice between two contending principles of Government—that which is connected with Carlism in Spain, and that which is con-

nected with Isabella and free constitutions. The question is, whether an unnatural and unnational alliance is to be supported by Orangemen at home, and Catholic bigotry abroad; or whether we are to co-operate at home with Spain in favour of the Constitution? The former of these principles is avowed by some parties among ourselves, who, while they avow a determination to support reform here, clearly show, at the same time, that the object they have in view is to defeat in Spain the Constitutional Government, which they detest. In the days of the Reformation, when religious differences divided the nations of Europe, they saw States in different parts of Europe combined together for the defence of religious liberty. It was not unnatural to see, in those days, men of the most opposite religious opinions united to retard the progress of general improvement. I should say that that is the real question, divested of all those extrinsic circumstances and party feelings, the House is called upon to decide. It is a question of great importance to England, and, indeed to all Europe; and the House may feel assured that, whatever its decision upon it may be, however disposed it may be to vote with the right honourable gentleman, the effect of that vote will be not merely to determine whether General Evans has rendered himself liable to any imputation in these transactions, or whether Lord John Hay and the marines were authorized to go a mile, or two miles, further than or short of their actual march into the interior. It will not merely pronounce to Europe the deliberate opinions of the House of Commons, as between two opposite parties engaged in a political conflict in this country, but it will read an opinion as between those opposite principles,

that, more or less, divide the suffrages of every country in Europe, and that more or less influence the policy of every country, on the condition of which the happiness of its people depends.

Debate on Spain. April 19, 1837.

English Ministers abroad.

It would, in my opinion, be very unjust towards persons employed abroad in diplomatic situations, particularly in despotic countries, when they perform their duties zealously and faithfully, to refuse them permission to come home, and refresh themselves by reviving their English feelings, and witnessing more closely the operation of those constitutional doctrines in which they have been brought up. Indeed, I attach so much importance to this point, that if an English Minister did not make an application of this nature, after a lapse of five or six years, I should feel disposed to order him home.

House of Commons. June 16, 1837.

Increase of the Russian Fleet.

I am asked whether any measures have been adopted by the Government to prevent Russia from proceeding with the naval armament at Cronstadt. Now with regard to the building and equipping of a fleet, no Government is entitled to prescribe to another power what fleets it shall build ; but unquestionably, when a foreign power is fitting

out a considerable force, either by sea or by land, which indicates intentions calculated to give reasonable ground of uneasiness to another power, or its allies, then the Government of such country has a right to demand for what purpose such force is intended; and certainly the presence and equipment of the Russian fleet, as it was collected in the Baltic two or three years ago, did lead to explanations between the Governments of England and of Russia, but those explanations were satisfactory to the Government of this country; and although, since that time, a large number of vessels have been fitted out for the purpose of review, there has not been any such display of naval force in the Baltic as might be reasonably looked upon as indicating a hostile intention on the part of Russia towards any other power.

Debate on increase of the Navy. December 14, 1837.

Mr. T. Attwood, and the war alarmists of 1837.

I think that the statement made by the honourable gentleman ought to have satisfied him, when he came to reflect on what he said, that the extreme alarm which he expressed could not be founded on good and reasonable grounds; for what was the complaint made in various parts of his speech, he said: "I have alone stated what I know will not excite the sympathy of my radical friends. I alone am in favour of something which the House of Commons, by their attendance on the present occasion do not seem to approve: and to which those who are present do not appear, by their postures and countenances, to at-

tend with a very lively interest, or to partake in the alarm which I have expressed ; out of doors no notice is taken of my project by a base, unfeeling, and heedless press, which seems to be unconscious of the insult which is offered to our country. I have no support from the Government of this country, and the people of England do not concur in my remarks." Why, if what he has stated be true, if neither his own friends, nor his Majesty's Government, nor the press, nor the people, entertain the alarm which he has endeavoured to inspire into their minds, must not the honourable member be led on reflection to believe that he himself must have misunderstood the grounds on which his propositions are founded. I will tell the honourable gentleman, however, that His Majesty's Government, the House, and the country, fully participate in the anxiety for the safety, and jealousy of the honour of this kingdom, which he has expressed in the course of his speech ; it is not on principles that we differ, it is on the application of those principles to the circumstances in which we are placed ; the honourable member seems to me to be rather desirous to find out an occasion for war than to entertain any serious apprehension that a war will be forced upon us ; indeed, the honourable member, feeling, perhaps, the necessity of explaining the reason for going into war with our eyes open, has furnished us with an imitation of the bland and conciliatory temper of a noble lord who once led this House, and is now a member of the other House of Parliament, who, it seems, used to accomplish things by his good humour which could not be effected by mere vigorous or pugnacious proceedings, and has told us, in the best-tempered, and most civil manner possible, that,

without any war, but as an act of precaution, we should go and destroy the Russian fleet in the Baltic, then sink the Russian ships that are in the Black Sea, and show our friendship to a friendly and allied power by taking forcible possession of the Dardanelles, and assuring those from whom we seized this position, that we should keep it until they were themselves able to defend it from attack; this, no doubt, is a very tempting way of sliding into war, but still I can't think that there is any necessity for pressing such measures, or that if adopted, they would lead to the results which the honourable gentleman so anxiously desires.

December 14, 1837.

Largeness of the Russian fleet in the Baltic.

As to the Russian fleet in the Baltic, I am quite ready to concede to the honourable member—as indeed the Government acted in some degree on the principles which he has laid down—that England has a right to look with jealousy at a great and ostentatious force displayed on the part of Russia or any other naval power. That is no proof of hostility on our part, it proceeds from a just regard which a country is bound to pay to its own security; and no country of which the question is asked, “Why make this display! whom are you going to attack? nobody is attacking you, and whom do you threaten?” will construe it to be of an unfriendly or unreasonable character; but the honourable gentleman tells us that such a naval establishment is required, as it would be necessary to maintain

it if we were carrying on a war against this, or that foreign power. Now, that is a doctrine which I do not think wise in itself or prudent to pursue; it is a matter of very nice discretion, and one which should be left to the consideration of the executive Government, which knows the nature of the relations from day to day, with foreign powers, to determine—in a time of peace, and when there is no immediate prospect (and I trust no prospect at all, as far as I can see) of a war before us—what ought to be maintained as a peace establishment; so that, whilst, on the one hand, we should not be left utterly defenceless, and without protection, we should not on the other unnecessarily add to the burdens of the country. Now, the honourable gentleman must recollect that, two years ago, His Majesty's then Government proposed, and this House adopted, an augmentation of the naval force; and though we did not state that the display made by this or that power was the cause of that step which we took, yet the Secretary for the Admiralty did very strongly dwell on the armament of Russia, and the periodical fitting out of her fleet as one of the grounds on which we considered it right to make a change in our naval force. Now, I do not admit that we are in the defenceless position which the honourable gentleman has represented. I do not admit, that if we conceive that Russia or any other naval power has the intention of insulting or attacking us, we have not, in ships now at sea, as well as those which might be made within a very short period, ready, the means of defending the nation, not merely from aggression but even from insult. But I think the House will be of opinion that they ought to place at least such a

degree of confidence in the Executive Government as to leave them on their own responsibility, to consider what, under the circumstances, is fair and expedient to propose to Parliament. I say, therefore, with regard to the first point—not at all dissembling, that I think Russia does keep a larger force than is required for the defence of her own possessions, and than is consistent with the general well-being of other nations at peace with her—not at all dissembling that it is a matter upon which not only the Government, but the people of this country should keep a jealous and watchful eye—that having no reason to believe that the intention of Russia is otherwise than friendly towards this country—having reason on the contrary to believe (whatever her policy or ultimate intentions may prompt) that she has no wish or design to embark in a war with England—I feel that it is not necessary to make any further increase to our naval force on the ground which the honourable member has stated.

December 14, 1837.

*Lord Durham's conduct as Ambassador to Russia
eulogised.*

The honourable gentleman, however, not content with the observations which he made (in a good-humoured spirit, certainly), and with strangling one minister after another, has indulged in remarks entirely unfounded, as to the manner in which Lord Durham discharged the duties imposed on him as Ambassador to St. Petersburg. Nobody can better than myself speak to the fact, because

with me my noble friend corresponded and it was in connection with me that he acted; and I can undertake to say, in favour of Lord Durham, that, so far from exhibiting an indifference to the honour and interests of this country, it was impossible for any public servant at a foreign court to have served his country with more zeal and firmness; he has rendered his country the most important services, which obtained the sanction of his late Majesty, and for which he has received a very just and merited token of approbation. The honourable gentleman is entirely mistaken if he thinks that the interests of the country were not guarded as zealously and as firmly in that noble Lord's hands as they could have been if entrusted to the care of the honourable gentleman himself.

December 14, 1837.

No fear of aggressive war. Other countries are in debt as well as England.

I say that there never was a period when England was more secure from any aggression of a foreign enemy than at present, or when her honour stood higher than it does now. The honourable member has told us that England has given security to the world at large to the amount of £800,000,000 to keep the peace; but let me ask, Sir, does the honourable member suppose that England is the only country in which financial difficulties constitute an obstacle to aggressive warfare? Does he suppose that Russia—ay, even that same Russia which he seems so desirous to convert into a general alarm giver—is in a

more warlike position as regards financial matters than Great Britain? I beg to tell him he is quite as much mistaken in thinking that Russia at this moment could find means to commence an offensive war, as he is in asserting that England is in such a state as to render her unable to provide for a defensive one. Was it exclusively from her own resources that Russia defrayed her own portion of the expences of the war which terminated in 1815? Certainly not. Between the beginning of 1814 and the end of 1815, Russia received £7,000,000 in subsidies from England, and £4,000,000 as part of a war contribution from France, and it was these same £11,000,000 which enabled her to bring under arms those one hundred and sixty thousand men, whom I myself saw in the plains of Champagne; and since the peace, Russia has been exhausting her means daily in pomps and shows, in reviews in the north and reviews in the south: she has expended any surplus revenue her vast territory may give her, and although she has a large number of men under arms, yet when we consider the little means she possesses to muster them from various distant places, and then to train and bring them into the shape of an offensive army, the honourable member may depend upon it she is not in a situation to give reasonable cause of alarm to any power ranked among the principle States of Europe. I say that Russia gives the world quite as much security for the preservation of peace as England. I assert that Russia would find it more difficult to undertake a war, which had not for its object self-defence, than England; and such being my firm and decided opinion, I do not think I shall be going too far in

assuring the alarmed honourable member for Birmingham, that Sheerness is not likely to be invaded, that there will be no necessity to cut the navigation buoys adrift on the coast, and that if he likes it, he may with confidence proceed to his nightly slumbers, between this and the 1st of April next—ay, or this day twelve months—without the least fear of being awoke by the news, either that the Russian fleet is anchored in the Pool, or that the crews of their ships are parading the streets of London.

December 14, 1837.

The French in Algiers.

The honourable member for Lymington has said very truly that there are many subjects connected with this matter to which it is unnecessary to refer ; and I shall not therefore enter either into an inquiry as to the effect which the possession of Algiers may have had upon the interests of this country in certain cases which may be supposed, nor on the other hand shall I inquire into the manner in which the possession may affect the interests of France herself, in certain cases. I however differ from the honourable member on one point, with regard to the rights which the Porte has over the territory of Algiers, because the honourable member is mistaken in supposing that the Porte had no rights of sovereignty previous to the French occupancy ; no doubt she has rights, and they are secured by France, but they are more attended to by Austria, and the other powers of Europe. I shall not question the right which France has of demanding and

enforcing from the Government of Algiers amends for injuries which have been inflicted on her commerce; and it is not for England to send out an expedition to compel satisfaction with regard to the pledges of assurance, which, before the undertaking of this expedition, were given by France to England, and the other powers of Europe; they will be found in those papers upon their being printed, and the House will then be enabled to see how France has complied with those engagements; with respect to the other point referred to by the honourable member who has moved for these papers, the designs of France on other parts of the coast of Africa some satisfactory declarations have been made by the Government of France as to what be their ultimate result, and the matter is still under discussion in the French Chambers. There is no intention, or wish however to make any encroachment on Tunis or Morocco. On a matter of this description, both with reference to the communications which are now passing between the French Government and the Chambers, I shall best consult my duty by abstaining from expressing my opinion upon the subject, which I am sure the House would not wish to hear, and which would not be convenient or satisfactory. In one sentiment of the honourable member, I must express my cordial concurrence: he said that he believed that the people of this country do not imitate the example of the French in rushing into unnecessary and unprovoked warfare for mere glory. I agree with him there; and I hope that the time may come, and is not far distant, when civilized and Christian Europe will coincide in the propriety of adopting this sentiment, and when nations may feel that there is

no real glory to be derived from a warfare of aggression, and in believing that in Christian countries no honour can be gained from the slaughter of thousands for the purposes of invasion and oppression; and that when trophies are erected by the hands of a conqueror, which have been obtained by the invasion of the rights and liberties of other nations, without the rights and privileges of his own country being secured, they serve to reflect discredit and disgrace on that conqueror.

February 13, 1838.

Colonel Evans a Knight of the Bath.

The appointment of Sir George De Lacy Evans to be Knight Commander of the Bath was made in the usual manner by her Majesty's Government, and upon their own responsibility. The honourable gentleman is mistaken in supposing that it is at all necessary, or has been the invariable practice, that the exercise of the discretion of the Government, in recommending persons to the crown for that honour, should be governed by any recommendation, or even what is less, by the advice, of the person at the head of the army. With regard to the appointment itself, I shall merely say, that I humbly venture to think that it was well earned and properly bestowed.

February 28, 1838.

Lord Glenelg defended from Sir W. Molesworth's attacks.

There is nothing in either the public or personal character of Lord Glenelg, that could afford the slightest excuse for so ungenerous and unhandsome an attack. He is a man whose talents are admitted by all, the tendency of whose principles is well known, and whose public services are entitled to much gratitude. He has been at all times the supporter of liberal principles, whatever department of the Government it has been his lot to fill. When in Ireland, he was—as he invariably showed himself in this House—the steady advocate of the claims of the then oppressed Roman Catholics; and that was at a time when the advocacy of the Roman Catholic claims was not the road to political advantages. When at the Board of Trade, first as Vice-President, and subsequently as President, he was a steady supporter of those liberal principles of political economy which were advocated by his eminent predecessor, Mr. Huskisson, who thereby brought down on himself the unmerited obloquy and malignant attacks of bigoted prejudice. Lord Glenelg, during the period he was President of the Board of Trade, was the framer and carrier through Parliament of that great measure which remodelled the government of our mighty empire in the East, and opened to the industry of the people of this country the commerce of this vast district, peopled by one hundred millions of men; and if this measure should, as I trust it will, lead in future times to the establishment of an extensive trade—when history shall record the fact, and

the light of truth shall be spread wide over those distant regions—it will be a matter of marvel that, in the lifetime of the noble Lord, who was the framer and passer of that measure, there could be found in this House a man who could propose to Parliament the adoption of a motion declaring the noble Lord incompetent to conduct the administration of the colonial empire of the kingdom.

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The very “head and front” of his charge now against Lord Glenelg is—what? Why, the demoralized state of the penal colony of New South Wales. So, forsooth, Lord Glenelg is unfit to conduct the administration of the colonies, because the settlers of New South Wales have not yet attained to the perfection of angels. If the honourable Baronet would get rid of the evils existing in that colony, he should propose an improvement in the law, for it is the law of this country, and not the administration of the colony under the law, that adds to the demoralization of which he complains. Really I cannot go through all those topics of a personal and desultory character, in which the honourable Baronet has indulged, and with respect to many of which he is most completely mistaken. He represented that persons have been allowed to remain by Lord Glenelg who have been actually removed. He represented measures to have been taken by the noble Lord, which he actually prevented. He represented the noble Lord as idle and inactive, when he was busy and fully occupied. He represented him as indifferent to the interests of the aboriginal inhabitants, though at the very moment that he made the charge, he had in his hand the report of a committee, which declares that “the policy of the Government has

been everything that is humane, and deserving of approbation on their part." He referred to New Zealand, and said that no steps have been taken by the Government for affording to the settlers of New Zealand that protection to which they are entitled. Does not the honourable Baronet know that the subject has occupied the attention of the Government for some time past; that there have been communications relative to it almost without end; and that it is not owing to any inattention on the part of the Government, but to the inherent difficulties of the case, that arrangements have not been made for the attainment of the object desired.

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The honourable Baronet then goes on to the Mauritius, and reminds the House that in 1810, the Mauritius was in a disturbed state. He said that when slavery existed, the slave trade was carried on in the Mauritius; why the facts he adduced, as a ground of imputation on the colonial policy of Lord Glenelg, carry in themselves the most complete refutation, because that of which he complains took place before Lord Glenelg was entrusted with the administration of the colonial affairs. I will say further, that where formerly there was dissatisfaction, there now prevails content. The honourable Baronet complains also of the state of the affairs at the Cape; if there be a colony which I would mention as particularly enabling me to refute the honourable Baronet's charge, I should name that very colony. The honourable Baronet cannot but be aware that the disturbances at the Cape result from the encroachments of the settlers, which lead them into constant collision with the natives; and those encroachments

have been put an end to by the enactments of the Government. When, too, the honourable Baronet tells us of the emigration of those people who have gone eastward, I beg to reply, that the reason they took their departure, was because they were prevented from continuing a system of persecution they had followed against the aborigines, whom the honourable Baronet says ought to be protected. Why he began by describing the conduct of the Dutch, as if their having pursued a system of encroachment upon the natives was enough to prove Lord Glenelg's unfitness to remain the colonial secretary ; then he stated that affairs in Sierra Leone do not go on to his liking. He, however, himself admits that no blame is on that account imputable to Lord Glenelg. If so, why does he allude to it at all ? why does he mention it in his motion ? for what purpose does he produce this instance, when from his own mouth there comes the justification, inasmuch as he admits that the abuses that he blames are of old standing, and are in progress of being remedied.

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The honourable Baronet next complains of the recal of certain Governors : does he suppose that they are to remain all their lives ? Does he not know that they are only expected to stay a certain period ? In some of the cases in which there has been a recal, the Governors have performed their period of service ; in others they were recalled before the expiration of the full time ; but does the honourable Baronet suppose, that in so extensive a system as that of our colonial establishment, differences will not occur, without perhaps involving any personal blame to either party, in which the Government, looking

to the interests of the colony, would find it necessary to dispense with the services of a Governor? The honourable Baronet has said that no arrangement has been made by the Government to provide for the state of Jamaica, at the time when the period of apprenticeship will expire. He is entirely mistaken as to that fact; he has here spoken on a subject on which he has no adequate information. He ought to know that the Government has been collecting the information that is necessary to the final proceedings; and so far from the subject having escaped our attention, it has, in fact, very much occupied our thoughts.

Sir W. Molesworth's motion of Want of Confidence in Lord Glenelg. March 6, 1838.

Lord Glenelg's Canadian administration defended.

The honourable baronet then proceeded to Canada, and I must say, though I cannot compliment him either on the effectiveness of his speech, or on the general judgment he has shown in the selection of his topics, there was yet something in the light manner in which he touched on that subject, which did exhibit more judgment than he evinced in any other portion of his speech, and which makes it evident that the explanations the Government have given have not been entirely thrown away on the honourable baronet. If I were to name any one point on which I would rest the vindication of the colonial policy of the Government, I would mention the case of Canada.

(Laughter from the opposition benches, and cheers from the ministerial.)

What has happened? what is the state of the Canadas? why, does any man suppose, is any man so ignorant, are even the honorable gentlemen opposite, who have attended to what has passed on this subject in the debate of this House, are they so ignorant as not to know that the prevailing dissatisfaction in Canada did not date its origin from the period when Lord Glenelg took office; how much my noble friend, the member for North Lancashire (Lord Stanley) must have blushed at that laugh; how must he have felt the deep, the gross ignorance of his friends on this subject, when they supposed that the complaints of the Canadians originated at the time of the appointment to office of Lord Glenelg. I may unhesitatingly declare that the dissatisfaction has been in one province entirely removed, and in the other it has been greatly diminished; the events of the last few months in Canada prove in the most incontestible manner the wisdom of the administration of her Majesty's Government there.

(Laughter, and cries of "oh, oh," from the opposition side of the House.)

Why, there has been a revolt, and how was that revolt put down? some of the French in Lower Canada took up arms. And were they supported in their insurrection by the great mass of the French in that country? On the contrary, did they not remain firm and loyal to their Sovereign, and was not that a proof that they felt that their connection with this country was more desirable than separation? but what has happened in Upper Canada is a stronger proof

that there has been a proper administration of the affairs of that colony. Only a short time ago, the province in question was in a state of extreme discontent, it was bordering on revolution, the supplies were refused, the machine of government was almost interrupted, and if only a spark had fallen on the inflammable materials which abounded in the colony, the result must have been most deplorable. What has happened? a few desperate men have attempted in the first place to take the capital of the province; they were repelled by the inhabitants, without the aid of a single soldier of the line; a band of foreign invaders was repelled on the eastern confines of the province by the Canadians themselves; a similar attempt was made in the west, and was attended with similar results. I will say then that a province that has acted so nobly as the province of Upper Canada, there having existed there extreme discontent, does give proof that the administration of the colony must have been deserving the approbation of Parliament. In my judgment, the honourable baronet has utterly failed in adducing any ground on which he can propose to the House a resolution of censure against the Government. Speaking of the state of the colonies generally, I will say that so far from their condition affording any proof that the system of their administration has been faulty, it affords ample evidence that it has been wise and proper; the colonies taken as a whole are prosperous and tranquil, with the simple exception of that which has lately occurred in the provinces of Canada, and there no ground exists for the attack of the honourable baronet. How have affairs stood in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia? they were in a state of discontent little short of what lately occurred in Canada

—what is their state now? they are perfectly satisfied, and perfectly loyal. I therefore contend that the very statements of the honourable baronet, the very instances he has quoted, so far from justifying the motion he has made, ought to be taken as evidence against it.

March 6, 1838.

A Molesworth administration.

If the honourable baronet's motion be brought forward for the direct purpose of accomplishing the removal of Her Majesty's Government, it is fitting that the House should understand the question on which they are going to vote, and that they should see what are the consequences to which that vote may lead. Does the honourable member propose, as it is almost to be inferred he does, from something that dropped from him in the course of his speech, wherein he said, it did not follow that because the present Government was removed, the honourable gentlemen opposite were to come into office. Does the honourable baronet mean, I presume he does not, that it is possible he might be required to steer the vessel of the State?

("Hear, hear," and a laugh.)

Why, that might be thrown out as a sort of jeer, no doubt; but then the honourable baronet has followers. I do not know their number, and he has yet a point or two to settle with them, for some of his doctrines of colonial policy are not quite such as are entertained by some of the honourable gentlemen who will vote with him to-night. I am, however, sure the honourable baronet does not wish

the House to suppose, that if his motion be carried he is ready to take on himself the conduct of the affairs of the country.

Ibid.

How could the Tories govern the empire?

The honourable gentlemen opposite then will be, they must be, the parties who are to succeed the existing Government; and that being so, I would ask the House whether, in the present state of the country, whether with reference to the affairs of Canada or Ireland, they would have a chance of conducting the public business with advantage to the country, or with credit to themselves. As regards Canada, I am sure it will be admitted that things may be done by the present Government which would not be accepted equally from some of the honourable gentlemen opposite; it is true that the revolt is put down, but much remains to be done to establish tranquillity and content in the provinces; and I do not think that persons who are disposed to take the views which the honourable gentlemen before me are in the habit of taking, will be as able as I and my honourable colleagues are to bring the affairs of these colonies to a satisfactory arrangement. But do they imagine that they can govern Ireland? Can this House believe that these honourable gentlemen can carry on the affairs of this country, with Ireland in a state of discontent, whereas she is now in peace and tranquillity?

(Cheers and cries of, "Oh! oh!" from opposition members.)

Are they to pacify Ireland by a system of administration

which marked its course, and carried on its Government by "the Kentish fires?" Perhaps the honourable Baronet looks to a mixed Administration; to that which is called on the continent, a "Government of fusion." Perhaps the honourable Baronet may think that when he has triumphed, he and the right honourable Baronet the member for Tamworth may meet upon the field of victory and then divide the spoil, (Cheers and laughter.) or possibly, my noble friend the member for North Lancashire, might be associated with them to make up the triumvirate; but what curious sacrifices must not the members of that triumvirate be called upon to make, for on no now admitted principle could they act together; the honourable Baronet would be obliged to surrender Ireland to Orange domination, the right honourable Baronet, and his noble friend the member for North Lancashire, would have to give up their opposition to the ballot-box, and to abandon Canada to the tender mercies of M. Papineau, and his ally Mr. Mackenzie.

March 6, 1838.

Efforts of Britain to suppress the Slave trade.

It is a subject of the deepest interest, and well deserves the most deliberate consideration of this House; it is a question which for half a century past, has engaged the attention and enlisted the feelings and talents of all the most distinguished men who have appeared upon the theatre of public life in this country; and it is one which

involves a greater extent of human crime and human suffering than any other with which I am acquainted. My honourable friend has only done justice to the present Government, he has only done justice to every Government which has preceded the present Government since the termination of the war, when he states that the Government of England have, for years past, laboured assiduously and sincerely in endeavouring to enlist other countries into the great service of putting down the slave trade, which it had previously put down in every colony that was subject to its dominion. "But," continues my honourable friend, "notwithstanding all the efforts which we have made, the slave trade still continues, little diminished in extent, and much aggravated in cruelty and horror." Now as to the last part of my honourable friend's assertion, I am sorry to observe that I am of necessity compelled to say that I must concur in its correctness. Knowing as I do the manner in which the slave trade is carried on—seeing, as I do, from the papers which it is my duty to lay on the table of the House, the atrocities with which it is accompanied—it is impossible for me to deny that the cruelty and horror of it are now greater than they have ever been at any former period.

Sir R. Inglis' motion. May 10, 1838.

Increased horrors of the Slave trade.

I will not compare the present mode of conducting the slave trade with a description which I have lately read in Mr. Clarkson's history of the abolition of this trade. In

that work, more than one witness of the slave trade is described as deposing that what is called "the middle passage" is the happiest period in a negro's life. If that be so, then must the other periods of his existence have been wretched indeed! I will, therefore, abstain from taking that passage as a proof of the manner in which the cruelty of the slave trade has increased since that account was written. I will content myself with remarking, that the space then allowed to the negro on board the slave-ship was very different from the space allowed to him at present. When I recollect that cargoes of negroes are now packed and crammed into places not more than two feet and a half in height, and that hundreds of them are confined during the whole of the passage—not in a space, for space it is not to be called—but in the closest crib which human ingenuity can devise, I cannot doubt that the beings so crammed and huddled together do endure the greatest possible amount of human suffering. I have been told by officers who have captured these slave vessels, that when these unfortunate wretches have been dragged from the hold into which they were jammed together, the majority of them were quite unable to stand, and that some of them had become completely paralysed, and never again recovered the use of their limbs. This is, however, only one portion of the cruelties to which they were exposed, for when the slavers are chased, it is not unusual for them to throw the slaves overboard with weights attached to their persons to sink them immediately, they fling them overboard wedged up in casks, in which they float about the sea, enduring long and incredible suffering, the slaver calculating on the possible chance of afterwards picking

some of them up in the event of the cruisers wearing off, or being unable to maintain the chase. I therefore concur in the correctness of the honourable Baronet's assertion, that the cruelties of this infamous traffic have become of late years greatly aggravated. That is, in my opinion, an additional reason why this House and the country should insist on its speedy termination. It is no reason for repenting us of our past exertions, but it ought to serve as a stimulus to excite us to greater efforts in the times that are to come.

May 10, 1838.

The Slave Trade has not increased in extent.

I must be permitted to differ, however, from my honourable friend in thinking that the extent of this traffic has increased along with its horrors. If it were to be reckoned in positive quantity, it is quite clear, I feel positively certain, that that traffic could not be now of the same extent which it would have been if we had not made that sweeping sacrifice to the principle we vindicated—of getting rid, ourselves, of the slave trade—and if, acting under the orders of my Sovereign, and in compliance with the solemn recorded wishes of Parliament—I had not negotiated treaties with foreign powers to engage them to abolish the trade on the part of their own subjects. For my own part, I do not attach much value to the calculations which have been made of the number of negroes annually carried from the coast of Africa to the West Indies and South America, previously to the aboli-

tion of the slave trade ; but if it be true that, previous to our abolition of the trade, the number of negroes annually exported from Africa was only eight thousand, let us calculate the number would now have been required to supply the demand in the market, both in America and in the West Indies. Baron Humboldt computes the number of negroes there at five millions. They who know the great waste of human life which always takes place in a state of slavery, and who likewise know the recklessness of masters in exerting to the utmost the strength of their slaves, when they know that they can at any moment repair the loss of one slave by the purchase of another, must be aware that, if the slave trade had been permitted to all the nations of the world, the number of slaves exported from Africa must have been much greater than it is now, or has been for many years past, seeing what have been the steps which we have taken to prevent the importation of them into our colonies.

May 10, 1838.

The Slave Trade.—Means taken to suppress it.

I think, however, that the House would like to know the present state of our engagements with foreign powers on this subject, and I can state that it is briefly this :—With all those nations of Europe which once carried on the slave trade, we have treaties that will prevent their flags from being used by other subjects than their own to cover their abominable transaction in this traffic. The House will recollect that, at the Congress of Vienna, all the great

powers declared that they were determined to put down the slave trade. With Sweden, and with the Netherlands, we have contracted treaties which have enabled us to establish a mixed commission to adjudicate upon all cases of ships seized on the ground of being engaged in the slave trade. We have recently rendered those treaties more complete in adding to them an "equipment" article, and an article for breaking up all ships condemned as good prizes, instead of selling them as heretofore. For a long time, the flag of France was employed in covering the slave trade; and the reason was, that the long war between England and France had created a jealousy between the two countries which prevented them from conceding to each other the mutual right of search.

On the accession of the present Government of her Majesty to office, we made a proposition on this subject to the French Government. It was our good fortune, on coming into power, to make such a proposal as overcame the reluctance of the Government of France to the concession of this mutual right. We proposed that the search in each case should be made by the ship of either power, not as the ship of war of the country to which she belonged, but by virtue of a warrant given to such cruiser by the Admiralty of the other power; and thus an English ship of war, searching a French merchantman, would do so, not under the authority of England, but by an order emanating from the French Minister of Marine; and in the same way, a French ship of war would search an English merchantman, not in the capacity of a French ship of war, but by virtue of an order from the Admiralty of England; and thus the ships of both countries became

mutually special constables, as it were, to one another, for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade. By this proposal, we got rid of all national jealousy in either State; and it is due to France to say, that the slave trade under the French flag has entirely disappeared, and not a single slaver is now found under that flag. France has acted with perfect good faith, and there is no instance in which the French flag has been ever suspected of protecting this traffic, as in the French West Indies, for example. It was an article of that convention with France, that the other maritime powers should be asked to accede to the proposal thus made by our Government. We did, in pursuance of that stipulation, make the proposal to them, and most of the powers acceded to it. Denmark, Sardinia, Naples, Sweden, the Hanse Towns, and the Netherlands, have done so. Now, with Sweden and the Netherlands, respectively, our treaties have been to this effect—that there should be established, to represent each of those powers and this country, “a mixed commission,” to adjudicate on the cases of all ships belonging to their flags, or any of them, which might be captured for slave trading. With regard to this mixed commission, however, so acceded to by Sweden and the Netherlands, France declared that it was against the constitutional principles of her new Government, established or recognized, for any but a French tribunal to take cognizance of cases in which the property or the lives of the subjects of France were concerned; and it was accordingly agreed that French subjects, or French property, taken in this traffic, should be delivered over to the tribunals of the country to which they belonged. We proposed the same convention to Austria, Prussia, and

Russia, not because the slave trade was ever carried on under their flags, but because we knew that when slavery was driven from the flag of one country, it would take refuge under another; and that so long as any flag sailed the ocean which was not enlisted in a confederation against the slave trade, our labours would not prove effectual. Austria, Prussia, and Russia, declared themselves perfectly willing to conclude treaties with England and France; and I can now state, in answer to the question which has been put to me, that the only reason why we have not yet proceeded, to the full, to avail ourselves of the willingness to come into this arrangement so expressed by the three powers I have mentioned, is because our Government has not yet received an answer from France to a proposal which has been made to her, as to granting what we had proposed to Russia, Prussia, and Austria; namely, a more extensive limit with regard to power of search than that which was agreed to in the article of the convention. There will then remain Greece, Belgium, and Hanover, which, I have not the slightest doubt, will also unite with us, as soon as the other three powers of the North, whom I have just named, shall have signed the same sort of convention as that to which France is a party with us.

With the Government of Spain we have concluded a treaty as complete, as, under the circumstances, could be expected. We have the same treaty with Spain as that which was consented to by the Netherlands and Sweden. That Government has granted everything we asked; more we could not expect. They have agreed to the mixed commission—for the most convenient mode of adjudicating on such questions; to the right of search without

limit, except as to the Mediterranean and that part of the Atlantic adjoining Europe ; and to the breaking up article, and the equipment article. I do think it but right and just to the Government of Spain to entreat the House to draw a distinction which has been much overlooked in this night's discussion, between the part taken by Spain and that adopted by Portugal on this question. Spain has done, handsomely, everything we asked of her. I now speak of the Government of Spain, which has executed its engagements with perfect good faith, though it has not yet proposed in the Cortes as severe a punishment for the party guilty of the offence of slave traffic as might be wished. But when we consider the peculiar circumstances of Spain—that she is now engaged in forming a constitution, that there is a civil war raging in the country, and that there are so many pressing matters to occupy her attention—we ought to make much allowance for the delay which has taken place. An honourable friend near me has reminded me of Cuba. It is certainly true that the slave trade continues in Cuba, and in many of the Spanish colonial possessions ; and this leads me to say, that, when I spoke of the Spanish Government doing all in their power to put down the slave trade, I did not mean to include in that praise the Spanish colonial authorities, and this leads me to say, that, whatever value may be attached to the proposal which the honourable Baronet invites the Queen, by his address to make, to other nations, that would not be, in itself, sufficient to attain the object which is contemplated, because the enforcement of such a law as that required, must depend on the existing circumstances and previous conditions of the country in which

it is passed. We all know that *nil prosunt leges sine moribus*. So long as public opinion is not peremptorily pronounced in those countries of whom it is proposed to make this request, we may look in vain for a due execution of the laws passed with regard to it; and when I allude to this want of moral feeling, which may be calculated to, and must, naturally, excite great indignation in our minds, yet we should recollect that which was adverted to in this debate—namely, what were the feelings of the English people up to no very distant period—to what an extent we, ourselves, indulged in this crime, and with what pertinacity many persons in this country defended it to the last; and these considerations may teach us to mitigate the indignation which we now experience at the comparative indifference to the horrors of this system exhibited by Spain, Portugal, and many other parts of the American continent. I repeat, that we have obtained from Spain a complete treaty, and the consequence is, that the slave trade has greatly diminished, though I cannot say it has entirely ceased in their possessions. In Cuba and Porto Rico, the flag of Spain is frequently and fraudulently obtained by Portugal to cover her traffic in those islands. Brazil is stated by some to be a great offender. As a recipient of slaves she may be, because the importations from Africa to Brazil are very great; but the trade is not carried on under the flag of Brazil, for my honourable and gallant friend (Captain Pechell) is mistaken in supposing that we have no treaty with that power. We have with it a treaty complete, except as to the equipment and breaking up articles. There is no limit to the search of a Brazilian ship; she is not protected south of the

line like a Portuguese vessel, nor has she the right of saying, "We can sail, though equipped for the slave trade." The Government, two years since, concluded a treaty as to equipment and breaking up of vessels with the Government of Brazil; but as, by the Constitution, it rests with the Chambers to ratify treaties, and as the interested influence of the slave traders prevails there, we have not been able to obtain a ratification of the article concluded between the two Governments. I should have said, when on the subject of the convention, that France and England, with other European powers, ratified the proposals then made. I regret to add, that we did not find in the Government of the United States the same willingness to wave national jealousy, and national etiquette, as was exhibited by France. I do indeed deeply regret this; but I think that the time may yet come, and at no distant period, when a different feeling will prevail in the United States, and when their Government, and the people of the country, will consider it more an honour to unite with the other powers of Christendom in putting down this abominable traffic, than to stand out on a mere question of etiquette, especially when the arrangement will be such as entirely to save every point of national honour.

May 10, 1838.

Portugal the great offender as regards the Slave Trade.

I now come to the great offender, Portugal; and I can assure the honourable Baronet that no predilection of mine, in favour of the system of government now

fortunately established in that country, or any degree in which I may have identified myself with the support of that system, as contradistinguished from the tyranny of Dom Miguel—no feeling of that kind will I allow to interfere, by mitigating, in the slightest degree, the indignation which I feel, in common with the honourable Baronet, on this subject. I must confess that the slave trade, as it is now carried on under that flag, is a disgrace to any civilized or Christian State. I see by the papers which have been laid on the table, the steps which have been taken by the Government of this country to represent strongly to Portugal the necessity of making good her previous engagements, entered into, as they had been on our part, at the cost of an enormous sum of money, and which concluded with an additional treaty for the full completion and execution of these engagements. The case, with respect to Portugal, in few words, was simply this: We had a right to seize, detain, and condemn any Portuguese ship found north of the line which had slaves on board; but we had no right to meddle with her south of the line, even though the ships had slaves on board; and neither north nor south of the line, merely on account of being palpably equipped for slave trading. Now, what we demanded was, first, an extension of the limits (similar to that which has been conceded to us in Spain), so as to authorize us to seize slavers anywhere; and, secondly, that we should be entitled to seize any ship palpably equipped for the traffic; and I must say, that I think if Portugal should continue to refuse what we had a just right to demand of her, in consequence of having made a treaty in 1817, by which it was admitted that we were

to abstain from interrupting her slave trade, only so long as she held any transatlantic possessions, and while the traffic was legal in Portugal, whereas Brazil is now notoriously separated from her, and she has, herself, passed a law to abolish the traffic, and render penal the offence; we are entitled now to demand from Portugal to give her assistance in enforcing that law, and putting down slave trade in every part of the world. And I do say, that if Portugal should continue to refuse to us that justice in this case, the time will come when it will be incumbent on Her Majesty's Government to appeal to Parliament for powers to do ourselves, and on our own authority, that which Portugal herself refuses to permit us to do by treaty. Sir, I trust we shall not be driven to that necessity, painful as such a resort would be to this House; and indeed I have reason to hope, from the communication which I have recently received, that the Portuguese Government have at length come to a due sense of its being incumbent on them to redeem their honour, by concluding a treaty similar to that which exists on this subject between Great Britain and Spain.

May 10, 1838.

The settlement at Sierra Leone.

A great deal has been said touching the inconvenience of Sierra Leone as a settlement, and to show that it is not a spot so ill adapted for the purposes of its selection, in reference to the objects of a mixed commission. This matter has been long controverted, and much debated.

There is no question that Sierra Leone, lying very much to the windward of the places where the slave-ships are usually captured, much loss of life and inconvenience occasionally result to the slaves taken. Fernando Po has been tried for the purposes ; but the difficulty has arisen with regard to that island, that it is not a British settlement or possession, and from the question as to the future condition of any negroes, who might be emancipated by a sentence of the tribunal established there ; for, if Spain, or any other nation had a sovereign right over that place, it would not be fair or just to those negroes, whose title to permanent liberty we profess to acknowledge, to settle them in a country where they would not be certain of their liberty, or where, at any rate, we should not secure to them the protection of the British crown. Sierra Leone is also an unhealthy station. The interior may be healthy ; but the settlement must necessarily be on the sea-coast, and the persons stationed there are of course exposed to the influence of the bad climate. This subject deserves attention ; but I am not inclined to believe the opinion to be correct that mismanagement has taken place on the part of the authorities of Sierra Leone. On the contrary, I believe that the liberated Africans are maintained there in comfort, and that great encouragement is given them to resort to various agricultural and industrious pursuits ; and I believe also, that the establishment of that colony of free and independent Africans, has had a great and beneficial effect upon the neighbouring tribes ; and it is only a few days ago I heard that the natives have exchanged their produce at various times with the negroes settled there for the purposes of commerce ; and that a prospect is held out, that

by our commercial intercourse with them, they are susceptible of a great and rapid increase of civilization.

May 10, 1838.

Head-money. How it put down the slave trade.

A good deal has been said upon the subject of head-money, and on some remarks which have been delivered elsewhere on the system of giving bounties on the capture of slave ships. The returns on the table completely exonerate British officers from the charge of being influenced by pecuniary considerations in their efforts to put down the slave trade. If any man can for a moment believe that honourable-minded men, like the officers of Her Majesty's navy, can be so wanting in the strict performance of their duty, as to be swayed by such motives or inducements, he will find how utterly unmerited is the imputation, by referring to the returns in question. It will from them be seen, that with respect to Spanish slave vessels, the greater portion of those seized have been slavers having no slaves on board, but seized under the equipment clause, and for which, therefore, no head-money is payable. I must however say, that considering the great sufferings and dangers the officers employed on the coast of Africa have to undergo—a service severe on account of the climate, and dangerous from the mistaken opposition of the negroes, who at first look on their captors only as fresh masters—I do not think that head-money can be regarded in any other light than as a very proper reward. I fully agree with the honourable baronet opposite, that it would

be most desirable to get the general declaration of all Christendom in favour of the suppression of the slave trade. But that, alone, would not do. We may get this from all the European States, except Portugal, and that power, it is to be hoped, will not long form an exception. We are in negociation now with some of the States of South America ; but I am afraid, I own, that when we shall have succeeded with every other flag in the world, those engaged in the slave trade will still attempt to carry it on under the protection of the flag of the United States. But, at the same time, it is due to the honour of the Government to suppose, and it is impossible not to believe, that after having declared the slave trade to be piracy, both they and the majority of the people of the United States would take all adequate means to rescue their national flag from the stain of such a degradation. I fully and cordially agree with the honourable baronet as to the two remedies he has suggested for putting down the trade ; but I, at the same time, am of opinion, that the surest means of putting a stop to it, if not the only one, is that which has been indicated by my honourable and learned friend near me, namely, the encouragement by all the powers of Europe of a peaceful and legitimate trade with the inhabitants of Africa. That is the only way to extinguish the slave trade in Africa. Looking upon the curse of slavery as one of the greatest that has at any time afflicted the human race, I shall heartily support the honourable baronet's address ; and I trust that this expression of the opinion of this House of Parliament—unanimous, as I am sure it will be, and as every man in this country will presently know it to have been, and in which every man in this

country will concur, being carried by address to the foot of the Throne, and from thence communicated to the other powers of the world—will be most effectual in attaining that object which the honourable baronet has so honourably tried to effect.

May 10, 1838.

Case of Mr. Bell and the 'Vixen.'

The subject which it appears the right honourable gentleman wishes the committee to inquire into is, whether Mr. Bell has lost money and character by the expedition of the 'Vixen,' and whether he received from me—for I wish to cast off the intermediate term of Foreign Office—whether he received from me, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, any encouragement to undertake that expedition? I think the right honourable gentleman has not shown the slightest ground for the assertion which is the basis of his motion; nor has his noble friend, who has come to his aid with that pugnacious speech of his, been able, with all his ingenuity and greater practice, to offer the shadow of a ground for the position he has assumed. There are two points which may be altogether laid aside in this discussion: the losses of Mr. Bell (for I do not suppose the right honourable gentleman considers a committee of this House necessary to make valuations of the ship and its cargo), and the loss of character sustained by Mr. Bell, which I also put aside, as I do not conceive that Mr. Bell has lost any character at all. He entered into a speculation for views and purposes of his own, which he was

perfectly at liberty to do ; and it would be utterly unjust to him to say that he, on that account, stands less well in public estimation than he did before. If I were to find fault with Mr. Bell, it would be because his speculation was entered upon, not with commercial, but with political motives, and with the intention of placing two great countries in a position of which war might be the consequence, and herein he showed himself not actuated by proper views.

But did he receive encouragement from me to enter upon that expedition ? I repeat my denial of that assertion, and I have not heard anything in the course of the debate to invalidate that denial. I disclaim the interposition of the phrase " Foreign Office." That office comprises a number of officers, who act on the authority of the Secretary of State ; therefore, any man who talks of communications which he has received through the Foreign Office, asserts that which has no meaning, unless he can state that such communications have taken place under the responsibility of the Secretary of State for the Foreign Department. Now, it is said that Mr. Bell—this innocent Mr. Bell—was led into a trap by me, by the answers I gave him. I deny that there is the slightest foundation for any such assertion. The inquiry he made of me was, whether it would be wise and prudent for him to enter into a certain speculation for the sale of salt on the coast of Circassia, whither he had been invited by the native authorities ; and he wanted to know whether there were any restrictions, recognized by this country, applied to that commerce by the Government of Russia ? My answer to these inquiries was precisely what the right honourable

gentleman says it ought to have been. "He ought to have been told," said the right honourable gentleman, "that he must judge for himself; that the Government of England could not give advice to a merchant as to any enterprise in which he proposed to engage." That is precisely what I said in my communication of the 30th of May, in which I replied to the inquiries he had addressed to me. There was one point I did not answer; and it must be admitted that if I had done so, I should have been guilty of a great breach of propriety. He wished to know what was the opinion of her Majesty's Government with regard to these great questions to which the right honourable gentleman has alluded; namely, the right of Russia to the sovereignty of Circassia, and whether I thought she was, or was not, entitled to establish those custom-house and sanitary regulations she was enforcing by the power of her arms?

Now, I must say, that no individual merchant is entitled to ask her Majesty's Government to give an opinion on questions of that sort; and if such questions be put, it would be most dangerous and imprudent in the Minister to satisfy them.

Sir S. Canning's motion. June 21, 1838.

The 'Vixen.'—"The trap" was laid by, and not for, Mr. Bell.

The trap, if there was one, was laid not *for* Mr. Bell, but *by* Mr. Bell. I think he will admit that it was my bounden duty to avoid the trap which "innocent Mr. Bell"

laid for me. It is said that Mr. Bell did not altogether understand the distinctions between a blockade and custom-house regulations. Why, surely he did understand it. Had he never been in that part of the world before? If I am not mistaken, he had been in the eastern parts of Europe, and knew practically more of these things than I could know. He had a local and personal knowledge of the facts with respect to which he was asking me questions with the utmost simplicity. On receiving my answer, Mr. Bell said: "You have mistaken my communication. You state, in the reply you have given to me, that you are not bound to give an opinion as to what it is expedient for me to do. I never asked you that question; my letter asked but one, and that was, whether the Government recognize the Russian blockade on the coast of the Black Sea?" Now, does the right honourable gentleman say that the Russian blockade is synonymous with customs' regulations? Every Government has a right to establish its own custom-house regulations, and Mr. Bell knew what these regulations in this case were. The complaint, that he was not informed of them, cannot be sustained. That which he said he wished to learn was, whether there was a recognized blockade or not? I replied that, for information on that point, I must refer him to the "Gazette;" and there the correspondence ended. If, after this, Mr. Bell went forward, can it be said he did so in consequence of any encouragement which I afforded him? I was never, for an instant, otherwise than exceedingly cautious in the replies I gave to this gentleman. In writing the letters I addressed to him, my impression, from the first to the last, was, that he was

endeavouring to get me to give an opinion with respect to a matter which did not appear on the face of his correspondence. He goes to Constantinople ; and what is the ignorance in which he is there kept ? He is shown the regulations of 1831 ; they were repeated in the subsequent paper of 1836, which had not been received when the correspondence took place between us ; in fact, it was not received till October. In the regulations which he saw, the Russian Government state, that no commerce can take place in Circassia, except in certain ports, because they are the only ports in which the custom-duties can be received.

June 21, 1838.

Mr. Bell's case.—Further reasons for condemning him.

But there is another feature in this case. Not content with violating the regulations, and, as it were, to make sure of a seizure, he takes a cargo of salt, which is prohibited by Russia in any port of Circassia. So determined is he to have two strings to his bow, that, first, he takes a cargo into a port where none is allowed to be taken ; and secondly, he takes a cargo which is not allowed to be taken into any part of the Russian dominions there, at all. Lord Ponsonby explained to him the danger to which he exposed himself of having his ship seized—what pretence is there, then, for saying that deception has been practised on Mr. Bell ? I can conceive a case in which he might have had cause for complaint. If he could state that he had been told by me, the only person competent

to make such a communication to him—for even if he had received it from Lord Ponsonby it must have gone for nothing, inasmuch as his Lordship was not authorized to afford him such information—if he had been told by me “Proceed, and if your ship is seized, this country will go to war, if necessary, in order to get you indemnity”—then, indeed, might it have been said he had received encouragement; but no such intimation was given to him, nor anything approaching to it. No communication was made to him that any ingenuity can torture into such a statement. I had some personal interviews with Mr. Bell previous to the correspondence; he then explained the objects he had in view, but I gave him no encouragement. I told him it was a matter of which he alone must be the judge; but if he had any question to put, he must put it in writing, and in writing he should have his answer. Why, it would have been insanity such as could hardly be imputed by political opponents, for any Government, when a weighty international question was involved in the course this ship was about to take, to have urged an individual to undertake a voyage, the object of which was to bring about a collision between two nations. The thing is so palpably absurd that I would not impute it—I do not mean the remark offensively—even to the right honourable gentleman. But, if Mr. Bell was acting under this encouragement, why has he reserved the statement of that fact till the month of May or June, 1838? There has been a great deal of correspondence; he has complained much of the decision of the Government; but how is that it never occurred to him to say, what a man naturally would say under such circumstances, “Why, you tell me you cannot

get redress for me from Russia ; is that the answer to make to me after having sent me out under a guarantee ?” That would have been the natural course. I cannot forbear from saying that, even by Mr. Bell’s own showing, he was engaged in what I must call an underhand political intrigue.

June 21, 1838.

Mr. Urquhart’s conduct criticised.

But we now come to another part of these transactions ; being that in respect of which the right honourable gentleman means to impute to me, personally, some considerable blame—I mean as to the matters which form the subject of a letter written by Mr. Urquhart, and published in the “Times” this morning. I beg, in the first place, to say that, during the little leisure, which indisposition sometimes gives me, I wrote a letter to Mr. Urquhart, in answer to one I had received from him the day before ; a fact which I mention to show the course that was taken in answering his communication. It would ill become me to criticise the course that gentleman has thought proper to take ; but my objection is not what it has been supposed to be by the noble Lord, the member for North Lancashire (Lord Stanley), that his letter was a betrayal of official confidence : my objection is exactly the reverse, namely, that it contained a great number of private and confidential communications between Mr. Urquhart and other people, which I did not think fit or proper to be published. I shall not—having read Mr. Urquhart’s letter over attentively—go into any portions of it on the

present occasion, except those which relate to official matters ; but I contend that there is nothing in it which goes to prove, in the slightest degree, any sanction, on my part, to the expedition of Mr. Bell. Mr. Urquhart did not even pretend to say that Mr. Bell received from me any sanction or approval of that expedition. He says that he heard I intended to do this, from one quarter—and that he understood I meant to do that, from another. He says that he heard it stated that I had suggested an improvement in the map of Russia, from communications supplied by him ; but that I had so concocted these as to make the map identical with that of Russia—rectifying the interior countries of the Caucasus. He also states that I corresponded with a map-publisher under the Hydrographical Department, and procured a copy of the Report on the Caucasus, made in 1826. He says that there have been many important reports made on the Caucasus, that that subject had been discussed in a publication which he states was connected with the Foreign Office, but with which, I beg to affirm, I have no connection, and over which I have had no control whatever ; and coupling all this with the circumstance of the independence of Circassia having been disregarded—from these, and other notes and circumstances, Mr. Urquhart is pleased to draw his own conclusions, and to presume that I must have entertained certain opinions with respect to the “ Vixen ” expedition. I am quite sure that the right honourable Baronet (Sir James Graham) whom I see perusing the papers, and studying the letter, will not find Mr. Urquhart’s assertion proves that anything which has taken place justifies him in saying that I had expressly sanc-

tioned or encouraged the expedition of the "Vixen." That expedition took place. The "Vixen" was seized in November 1836, and shortly afterwards Mr. Urquhart sends a private letter from Constantinople to Mr. Strangways, which Mr. Strangways transmits to me, in a box, with certain papers connected with the affairs of the "Vixen"; and that shows me what Mr. Urquhart had to do in that matter. My first impression, without reading the letter, was to caution Mr. Strangways to take care what he might say, or on what terms he wrote back, because I thought it possible for Mr. Urquhart to be mixed up with this expedition. But then the right honourable Baronet (Sir S. Canning) has said, that I kept back my opinion on this case, waiting to see the result of the affair of the 'Vixen.' I beg to say, that such was not the case. I shortly afterwards read Mr. Urquhart's letter, and I at once saw the share that that gentleman had had in persuading Mr. Bell to proceed on the expedition, after the design had been abandoned. At that time, I was about to send him out on a leave of absence (for which he had applied), and so I took the opportunity in forwarding that leave of absence to tell him that I thought his conduct so unaccountable, so incompatible with his public duty, that it had so strongly excited my disapprobation, that I thought it but fair to tell Mr. Urquhart I could not allow him to return to Constantinople. Such then was the approbation, according to the peculiar view of the right honourable Baronet, that I gave to this expedition. I have—I suppose it is notorious—a very great deal of business to get through in my department; and sometimes, when letters do not appear to be immediately pressing, I put them by

for the time. But the noble Lord (Lord Stanley) has said that the letter of Mr. Urquhart announced, or had relation to, great events which were about to take place. No: but which had already taken place, for it was the fact that the event he alludes to had actually occurred at that time. The letter, therefore, could be supposed to bear only on the personal conduct of Mr. Urquhart himself. The same observation applies to Mr. Urquhart as to Mr. Bell. They were both, it should seem, impressed with a notion that they were promoting an enterprize which Her Majesty's Government liked, but did not desire openly or explicitly to avow; I believe that. But I think one case suggests itself, which shows in how awkward a position these parties were placing themselves. Supposing I had said to Mr. Urquhart just what Mr. Bell was asking me to say, "Let the 'Vixen' go," what course, then, would the proceeding have taken? What would have been the consequence? Why, Mr. Urquhart would have been placed in this position—that he would have been disgraced and reprimanded. He would, at least, have been considered highly reprehensible for what he had done, in a position of so much responsibility; but it would have been rather an extraordinary thing if he had been asked, privately, to do that which he was afterwards censured for doing. Now, I say this, not on this account, but out of regard for him; and to save his feelings, I added a postscript to my letter to Mr. Urquhart, in which I informed that gentleman that I had not stated my reasons publicly for his recal; that I had not even communicated this to Lord Ponsonby; that I wished it to be understood he was coming home on leave of absence; but that, if what had been done, had

been done with his concurrence, it would not be possible that he should be allowed to return, although I desired to take no public notice of the circumstance. Now, what would have been the answer of Mr. Urquhart if he had received such a letter as that to which allusion has been made—if I had really sanctioned Mr. Bell's expedition? Would he not naturally have said to me, "Your communication astonishes me, because I only did that which you yourself urged me to do, but which you now assign as the ground of my dismissal."

(Cries of "Hear, hear!" from the Treasury benches.)

I must say, a person under such circumstances, who could not make that reply, would be less able to defend himself than Mr. Urquhart, or the right honourable gentleman (Sir S. Canning) who has taken up the cudgels for him. There is another extenuating circumstance. Mr. Urquhart, in his letter, adverts to another very extraordinary circumstance. He there refers to a conversation which he had with me on his return, early in the month of August, or late in July; and so says, quoting an expression that I used in that conversation, of my utter disapprobation of the part which he had taken in the expedition of the 'Vixen';—he states, that up to that moment, he was really not aware that I did not take a great interest in that expedition, or was displeased with what he had done about it. Why, Sir, this very individual had actually received at Constantinople, a letter from me some months before, in which I clearly expressed my displeasure, and stated that it was on account of his interference in the matter of the 'Vixen,' and on that account alone, that he was recalled. He remained there up to July or August, and yet says

that he thought, up to the moment of this conversation, that I took a great interest in, and expected great national advantages from, this expedition. I cannot reconcile discrepancies of this sort; but I confess I cannot understand how any such misapprehension can have been seriously entertained. This I will broadly say, that the letter I wrote to Mr. Urquhart, in March, and the statement I made to him when I saw him, ought to have precluded that gentleman from saying that I ever, in any way, approved or sanctioned, or gave any encouragement, even of the smallest nature, to an expedition which it was impossible not to foresee must, in the end, and so far as this country was concerned, be attended with very serious embarrassment and difficulties.

June 21, 1838.

The best employment for our Naval Force.

The distribution of our naval force is another subject that has been much mooted; and the consideration of this subject divides itself into two parts—the one relating to the protection of our own shores, and the other to the promotion of the interest of this country on foreign stations. Now the right honourable Baronet seems to think that the former system of having eight or ten guardships in our ports at home, is preferable to the present, instead of having the greater portion employed upon foreign stations; but I conceive that the plan we have adopted is by far the best. I think it far better that eight or ten sail should be employed on the Mediterranean, and eight or ten sail on

other stations, instead of allowing those ships to be idle in our ports, without any means of affording to the officers and sailors that instruction and practice which they can only acquire on foreign service, and which are so necessary to make them efficient in their profession. But suppose we had called upon the House to vote for these ships on a home station, would it not at once have been said, "Why do you call upon us to vote for defences which are entirely useless? Are we not at peace with all the world? Has not Her Majesty told us, in her speech from the throne, that 'she continues to receive the most friendly assurances from all foreign powers?' Why, then, do you wish to keep up this force on our own shores? But if we are to have in peace, a navy which shall form the *nucleus* of an effective war establishment, why do you not send your ships on a cruise? why don't you let your sailors acquire practice and experience? why do you allow your ships to rot in your harbours, and your sailors to remain in all the debauchery of a sea-port, instead of sending them out and exercising them in their profession?" Such would be the remarks in that case to which we should be subject; and, I think, not without reason; but I do conceive that we are now employing our naval force in a useful manner, and in the best way to promote the public interest. Well, it is objected that we have ten or eleven sail in the Mediterranean; but let any man cast his eye on the map of Europe, who has paid any attention to the events of late years, and I think he will admit that we have great interests at stake in that part of the world, which require the presence and protection of a powerful naval force. We have been told of the great

moral effect which a naval force has ; and have we no interest in the Mediterranean, which renders it of advantage to this country to maintain that moral effect there ?

Debate on the State of the Navy. March 11, 1839.

The same.

Then, Sir, it is said your fleet in the Mediterranean is of no use to you, because if a war were to break out, it is too far distant to be made immediately available. Why, Sir, would you go to war and have no fleet in the Mediterranean to protect those important British interests which would there be at stake ? And whom would you go to war with ? These honourable gentlemen who talk so much about war, mean with Russia. And would you go to war with Russia without having a powerful fleet in the Mediterranean ? On the contrary, if we had not one there, the very first thing to be done on the outbreak of a war, must be to send an armament into that sea. If honourable gentlemen on the other side of the House think we are in such a situation with regard to any foreign power as to make a naval armament requisite ; if they think the time approaches when one must be provided, which I have no reason to think, nor do I believe, is the case, would it not be much more easy to equip a fleet for the protection of our own shores than to fit out a force to send to Gibraltar and the Mediterranean ? We have now a force of ten sail of the line in the Mediterranean, and eight or ten sail at such a distance that they could be easily brought to this country, if there were a prospect of their being required for

its defence ; and if the argument were to rest on the necessity for an armament to defend our own shores, I would still say that these ships are more usefully employed, not only for the interests of the country, but for the improvement of the navy, where they now are, than if they were lying in the ports of this country. Suppose the case on which the honourable gentleman's arguments turn—suppose the specific case, which I do not anticipate, of a war with Russia—eight sail of the line would not be sufficient to meet and encounter the twenty-seven sail possessed by Russia ; it would be necessary to arm a much larger force. Therefore, if honourable gentlemen say that eight or ten sail of the line in this country would be amply sufficient to protect this country, and that no more would be required, then I can understand their argument, that those ships should not be sent abroad ; and that, to secure us from all chance of attack, the whole should be kept at home. But such is not the case ; we should require a much larger armament ; and before that could be got ready, we should be able to bring back the force which we have distributed in different parts. Why, Sir, much of it will be at home, probably, before the season advances. I do not like to touch this part of the subject, lest the possible supposition should be entertained, that, in what I say, I am giving any countenance to an opinion that may be anywhere entertained, that we are now in a state in which a rupture with Russia is likely to arise. There is nothing in the relations between this country and Russia to justify such an opinion ; on the contrary, I believe that, on both sides, there is a strong and anxious desire to preserve the peaceful relations, and to maintain that friendship, which

at present exist. But if any question should at any time arise which would be likely to endanger the permanence of peace, it could not occur so suddenly but that the English Government would have time to make the necessary preparations ; and, the Parliament sitting, it would be extraordinary if we could not obtain the sanction of the House for any augmentation of our force, which, under unfortunate, and, at present, entirely unforeseen, circumstances, might be required.

Debate on the State of Navy. March 11, 1839.

The protection of English interests, the guiding principle of his conduct.

In the outset, I must deny the charge made personally against myself, and against the Government to which I belong, of an identification with the interests of other nations.

I venture to say that never was there an administration that paid more attention to the commercial interests of this country. And this I will add, that much as I feel the importance of the alliance with this country with other powers, and much as I wish to perpetuate such alliances, and to endeavour to render other nations as friendly as possible with this, I am satisfied that the interest of England is the Polar star—the guiding principle of the conduct of the Government ; and I defy any man to show, by any act of mine, that any other principle has directed my conduct, or that I have had any other object in view than the interests of the country to which I belong. I

therefore repel this as an idle taunt, unworthy of my noble friend (Lord Sandon), for I am convinced that any one who knows my personal feelings, or my public conduct, will acquit me of that charge.

House of Commons. March 19, 1839.

The Right of Blockade.

With regard to the general question of blockade, I really think that England is not the power entitled to question the practice of blockades, as a mode of dealing towards other nations. I have in my pocket a list, with which I will not trouble the House, of forty or fifty places where England established blockades during the last war.

SIR R. PEEL. Yes, during war.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON. Just so; but France and Mexico were in this instance in a state of hostility.

SIR R. PEEL. There was no declaration of war.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON. And does the right honourable Baronet think that England has never established a blockade without a formal declaration of war? The cheer, therefore, of the right honourable Baronet the member for Tamworth goes for nothing. The French Government had a right to establish a blockade; and as long as there is a sufficient force to make that blockade effectual, any ship attempting to pass through it must do so at its own proper risk.

Ibid.

Deputations.

The noble Lord (Lord Sandon) complained of the mode in which I received those persons who presented memorials on the subject of the blockade. Now, I can assure the noble Lord and the House that nothing was further from my intention than to treat with anything like want of respect the parties who applied to me, and whose interests were deeply involved in the question. I was well aware of the high respectability of those parties, and that they were, on personal considerations, entitled to be treated with frankness and with candour ; but with regard to very delicate transactions with foreign powers, it certainly was not my duty to go into any further explanations with the parties as to what the Government was doing, or what it intended to do. Had I done so, my answers would, I well knew, have appeared next day in all the newspapers ; and I, without meaning it, might thus, from the way in which those answers would have been repeated and commented upon, have led other parties into embarrassment in their commercial transactions, and committed the country in a way which I had no right to do. I am sure that the noble Lord, and the parties who applied to me, will acquit me of all intentional disrespect ; and that those to whom answers have been sent, will see that I, as a Minister of the Crown, ought not to have told them what the hopes, and fears, and views of the Government were, with respect to the conduct of France towards Mexico.

Ibid.

Extension of our commercial relations.

We have been accused very often, by honourable members opposite, of neglecting the commerce of the country, of taking no pains to ascertain what means there were available for extending it, and of caring only to maintain ourselves in official power; but now, the right honourable gentleman comes forward, and complains of our not being contented with the information to be derived from our diplomatic agents, and that we are entailing expense upon the country by employing persons competent—peculiarly competent—to inquire after, and obtain for us, that information by means of which the commerce of this country may be improved and enlarged. And I may be permitted to add, that more has been done within the last few years, to extend our commercial relations with foreign countries, than at any former period.

House of Commons. June 21, 1839.

The Slave Trade.

I quite agree with the honourable Baronet (Sir R. Inglis) in the hope that the powers of this Bill (Slave Trade [Portugal] Bill) will materially assist the Government in their efforts to put down the slave trade. It is well known that the great amount of that trade is now carried on under the Portuguese flag. Not that I mean to say, that the Government of Portugal can be considered as chargeable, on account of the great number of the ships that carry on this illegal traffic under the protection of their flag, for

very many of those vessels belong to Spain and the Brazils. But this aggravates the difficulty we have to contend with; because the effect of not giving us the power to capture slave vessels, sailing under the Portuguese flag is, that all the principles of humanity are grossly violated, not only by ships of that country, but by vessels belonging to the Brazils and to Spain, which, sailing under that flag instead of their own, set us at defiance. I am happy to say, that we have already made considerable progress in our efforts in the cause of humanity; and I trust, before long, that we shall have Austria, Russia, and Prussia, cordially uniting with us in a determination to put down the trade in slaves; and then, no doubt, the three remaining European powers, Hanover, Belgium, and Greece, will see the necessity of co-operating in giving us the right of search. We have recently concluded a treaty with Venezuela, another with New Grenada, and another with Chili. The treaties with the Governments of Buenos Ayres, Peru, Bolivar, and the other South American States, have not yet been executed; but if we can induce them to concur with us—which we have every hope that we shall do—we shall then be in a condition effectually to carry out our principles.

* * * * *

Then, with regard to Spain and Portugal, I attribute the extent to which the slave trade is carried on by subjects belonging to those nations, not to the liberal institutions which they have recently obtained in those countries, but as the result of that long-established

despotism, which, for a great number of years, they have been subjected to. For one, I confidently look forward to those free and liberal institutions which they have so recently acquired, or the means which, ere long, will redeem them from a practice so revolting and contrary to the principles of humanity. * * *

With respect to the alternative, of which the honourable Baronet has spoken, it is undoubtedly true, that Portugal might if she pleased, commence a war against this country, for acting upon the power which the Bill will, if passed, give to the Government. But it must be remembered that we are, herein, only maintaining our rights—rights conceded to us by treaties, and purchased with our money; and that, therefore, if Portugal were to take violent measures in opposing the enforcement of those rights, she would most justly expose herself to the punishment, which the superior force possessed by this country would most undoubtedly, in such case, inflict upon her. And I say, that, in carrying out these principles, and maintaining our own rights, and our own honour, we are, at the same time, conferring a benefit on Portugal; for what can be the value of colonies, the only revenue from which is derived from the export of human beings—whereas, from their position, their climate, and the fertility of their soil, they might become the source of commercial prosperity, and an element of power, to the country to which they belong?

House of Commons. June 21, 1839.

*The extension and sustentation of our Commerce
dependent upon the maintenance of Peace.*

For my own part, while I think much has been done to extend the commercial relations of this country, I confess that much more still remains to be done on that head. I can assure my honourable friend, and the House, that the commercial interests of the country occupy the incessant attention of my right honourable friend, the President of the Board of Trade, and myself, and of every member of her Majesty's Government, especially with a view to the increase of the markets for the productions of Great Britain. * * * *

In the state in which the general commerce of this country is, it is our duty to open new channels for our trade, and to enlarge those which already exist. It is not by treaties of commerce alone, that the object can be best and most completely effected. I trust we have succeeded, in other ways, in materially supporting and improving the commerce of Great Britain, by maintaining peace ; because, without that, it is in vain to hope for its prosperous commerce : and not only must that peace be maintained for England, but also for other countries, because everybody knows the degree in which the commerce, even of a neutral country, is affected by other nations being at war.

Debate on Turkey. August 6, 1839.

Quarantine.

With respect to quarantines : opinions have been expressed that they are of no use whatever in preventing the transmission of plague, and that they unnecessarily aggravate the evils in the nature of things attendant on voyages. With respect to that point, I will offer no opinion ; but the opinion which is generally expressed, suggests only an additional reason why the different powers of Europe should come to some understanding on the general question of quarantine laws, for the purpose of mitigating their pressure.

Debate on Turkey. August 6, 1839.

The slave trade. Breach of treaties for its suppression by Portugal.

Portugal is bound by different treaties with this country to abolish her slave trade ; not only to co-operate with us in that abolition, but to use all the means in her own power to accomplish that purpose. These stipulations were not gratuitous on the part of Portugal. We made pecuniary sacrifices. We gave her money, which, by her own admission, amounted to nearly half a million. Beyond that, we paid to Portuguese owners, for the loss of their slave ships, upwards of £300,000, as compensation money. Thus, besides the £300,000, a sum between £450,000 and £460,000 was paid to Portugal, as a nation, as the price for her abolishing the slave trade. The treaties for 1815 and 1817 contained engagements most stringent

and complete upon his subject. Now, Sir, has Portugal fulfilled these engagements? No; she has violated them in a greater degree, I will venture to say, than any country in the history of the civilized world could be found ever to have violated the solemn obligations of treaties. I will venture to say, that there is no instance in history of such a flagrant breach of faith as that committed by Portugal to this country with regard to the slave trade. For, instead of suppressing the slave trade, and abolishing it, she encourages it. She not only connives at it by her officers, but the authorities actually lend themselves to it, encourage it, thrive by it, make fortunes by it, and form parties by an influence which controls and overrules the Government at Lisbon. It is owing to the very fortunes made by the slave trade, that an influence of a political character has been acquired by certain individuals at Lisbon, which now overrules and sways the government of that country. By this slave-trading faction, the Government of Portugal has been prevented from acceding to the treaties which we have proposed. I say, so far from abolishing the slave trade, she has substituted her slave-trading flag in the place of all the slave-trading flags in the world. In proportion as we have been getting out of that trade the flag of Holland, the flag of France, and the flag of Spain, we have found the flag of Portugal taking under its protection the trade which was formerly carried on under the flags of those different powers. Not only has she not fulfilled her engagements with us—not only has she retained her trade at the same point which it had reached when these engagements were contracted—but she has actually increased it; and there is now, not a slave-trader that crosses the ocean, who does

not carry his protection under the prostituted flag of Portugal. I can only say that, to take a single instance, I believe that not less than one hundred thousand Africans, from one side of the Atlantic to the other, are carried from a state of liberty to a state of slavery into the Brazils and Cuba under the flag of Portugal. Therefore, here are engagements contracted—here are engagements violated. No efforts on our part have been wanting to procure, by persuasion, from Portugal, what Portugal ought to have granted unasked. We have, for more than four years, endeavoured to persuade Government after Government, in Portugal, to conclude a treaty, which should, with her consent, enable us to accomplish the purposes that she had bound herself by her own means to effect; but we have endeavoured in vain. The Governments of Portugal—upon pretexts the most frivolous, upon objections the most unfounded, upon allegations totally destitute of truth—have rejected the proposals which we have made, and, by every contrivance, have spun out the negociation, for the mere purpose of avoiding the termination of the question. At one time we say, “Make the slave trade, piracy.” “No,” they reply, “we cannot do that, because it would be repugnant to our nature and feelings to put a slave-trader to death.” We say, “We don’t ask you to make it a capital offence, but to subject it to a severe secondary punishment.” Still they refuse. We then say, “Call it a piratical offence.” “No; that is an offensive term.” We propose to extend the right of search by treaty. They require to make the treaty limited in point of time—for the obvious purpose, that, when the treaty shall have expired, they may re-establish the slave trade in

all its vigour. We propose to continue the mixed commission. "No," say they, "why continue the mixed commission with us, when you have discontinued it in France?" But France is no longer engaged in the slave trade. We ask them to agree to a regulation by which captured negroes shall be placed under the superintendence of the mixed commission, in order that they shall not, under the pretence of being made free, be converted into slaves. Portugal has refused. She says, that it would be contrary to her honour to do so, and contrary to the principles of their laws, which declare that there shall be no foreign interference permitted or recognised. It must at once be obvious that any negroes taken in a slave-ship under a Portuguese flag, if handed over to the Portuguese authorities would, although nominally emancipated, be, in fact and reality, slaves! As soon as they have agreed to one proposition—and as soon as, by some modification we have got rid of one objection, they have started another. In short, there is, on the part of Portugal, an obstinate and rigid determination not to make any treaty with us, to give any facility whatever to the great purpose we have in view. Then, I say, it is necessary we should procure them by our own means. We have told Portugal, over and over again, as well by the addresses of the two Houses of Parliament, as by our appeals to them to grant us a treaty, that, if they did not of their own accord consent to fulfil their engagements, this country would be obliged to take the matter into its own hands. Therefore we have not, as is supposed by some, been coming by surprise upon the Portuguese Government. It has been thought, that if we had had an opportunity of giving

them more notice, they would have yielded to our request. Notice they have had in abundance. It would be mere mockery to give them more. They knew what we were going to do; and they determined, rather than consent to what they were bound to give us, to let us take it by our own means; and I do not know that it would be disagreeable to them for us to do this. Although one must acknowledge that the conduct of the Portuguese Government has, in this respect, disentitled them to the esteem of all mankind; yet I do not think so ill of them, as to believe that it has arisen from any real disinclination to put an end to this traffic. I believe that they have been controlled by a domestic power stronger than themselves, and that the nation at large does not participate in this traffic; and I really think that, in taking the course which I propose, we shall be doing that which will not be unbeneficial or unacceptable to some of those persons that may have appeared to be most obstinate in resisting our proposals.

Debate on Slave Trade Aggression Bill. August 8, 1839.

Portugal no interest in the Slave Trade.

For, in truth, Portugal has no interest in the trade. She has no colonies that require slaves for the purpose of cultivation. She is an exporting and not an importing country. In truth, a great portion of the ships that sail under the Portuguese flag, are the property of Spaniards, Brazilians, and others, the refuse and scum of the earth—pirates of all nations and of no nation—carrying on the

traffic upon the pure spirit of criminal adventure, in whose success or failure the Portuguese nation has no more interest than we ourselves. I say, therefore, we are not doing that which Portugal will have any right to resent; we are only doing what we are already entitled to do in virtue of our treaties with her. We are doing no injury to Portugal; but we are doing that which, I firmly believe will be, to Portugal herself, a source of advantage and prosperity.

Ibid.

The effect of the Bill—Right of Search.

This is the extent of the powers called for under the present Bill. I am convinced they will be sufficient to enable the Government to put down the traffic in slaves carried on under the Portuguese flag; and a great point will thus be accomplished. I know it may be said that the trade may still be carried on; for that the slave-trader, when driven from one flag, will seek refuge under another. I am aware of that. But if we succeed in gaining all the flags of Christendom in the common cause, then, I would ask, to what course can the slavers resort? They may have no flag. They may divest themselves of every document that might enable the captors, upon whom all the responsibility will rest, to prove that they belong to this or that particular nation; so that the captor would not be able to bring them before the tribunals of the country, or the mixed commission. That would be the last effort of despairing crime. But

I shall, therefore, propose a clause to remedy that evil. I propose that a slaver, taken under such circumstances, shall be considered as, and dealt with in the same manner as though she were an English slave-trader ; provided always, that if in the course of trial her nationality shall be made to appear, then the case shall not be adjudicated upon by the Court of Admiralty, but dealt with as if, at the outset, she had been of the nation to which she is ultimately proved to belong. It may be objected, that this will be making war against all the world ; but I do not see how any nation can complain of such a course. If a ship abjure her country, and cast the protection of its flag to the winds, the State to which she happens to belong, cannot, at least, complain that we have not respected her nationality, the existence of which had been studiously kept beyond our knowledge. Then, what prospect is there of arriving at that general union, in putting down the slave trade, the hope of which I have held out to the House ? When all the powers of Europe shall have united in giving a mutual right of search, or the power of condemnation by a mixed commission, there can no longer remain any defence for carrying on the slave trade under any European flag.

Debate on Slave Trade Aggression Bill. August 8, 1839.

The object to be obtained by the Bill.

Then, Sir, if the powers now sought be granted—and they will, I trust, be sufficient, simple and short as they are (for the whole of the Bill might be contained in one

single sheet of paper, and described in a few minutes) — these powers, so short and simple, will become a potent spell in annihilating an amount of human crime and misery, the enormity and magnitude of which no imagination can conceive, and no tongue adequately describe. I am persuaded the House of Lords will not refuse to co-operate with us in this work. I am satisfied the House of Lords are as sincere as ourselves in their detestation of this abominable traffic. They feel, as we do, that England has much to answer for in the encouragement she, herself, has in former times given to the slave trade, and in which few nations have played more deeply. That we have done our utmost to put an end to this traffic, is, perhaps, but a slight recompense for the previous sufferings which, during a long course of years, have been inflicted, with our acquiescence, under it. It is, however, impossible that either House of Parliament could think of stopping at the point at which we have now arrived, when we have almost within our grasp the end for which we have so long been struggling. I say, that it is quite impossible that either House of Parliament could, on a mere point of form, refuse its assent to a proposition which we have so long been anxious to see carried. I believe, then, that the Bill we are about to send up unanimously, will receive the assent of the Upper House. If we take this step, I am satisfied it will be a great means of progressing towards the accomplishment of the end which we all have in view. And if England should have the glory of succeeding in her efforts and exertions, completely to extinguish this guilty traffic among the nations, and finally to close this long account of misery and crime, I think that that good deed alone

will be sufficient to hand down her memory in undying brightness to all posterity, through the lapse of countless ages.

Debate on Slave Trade Aggression Bill. August 8, 1839.

The preservation of the Peace of the World his main object.

But to be able to judge of the foreign policy of a Government, a higher and broader range ought to be taken than a few isolated points. Our great object has been to preserve peace. We were told by an honourable member opposite, on succeeding to power, that we could not preserve peace for three months; but we have preserved it for ten years. Our policy has not been to intermeddle in the affairs of other countries, but, by the legitimate exercise of the influence of Great Britain, to support other nations in their struggles to obtain for themselves institutions similar to those which have been described as forming the boast of this country. In that object we have succeeded; for in no equal period of time, I will venture to assert, has civil liberty made such progress, as in those years during which, according to the right honourable Baronet, we have been singularly unfortunate. We have really been successful in so many things, that I had almost forgotten to recal to the House the successful close of the negotiation relating to Belgium. That was an arrangement of no small difficulty—of no inconsiderable importance to Europe—of no small moment, especially to England; and yet we brought

those intricate negotiations to an end without involving Europe in war, which was so often predicted as the inevitable result of all our efforts. But while we have protected the friends of civil liberty in Europe, have we thereby forfeited the friendship and good-will of those powers whose Governments are constructed on a different principle? I answer, confidently and boldly, no. Although reproached with having alienated for ever our ancient allies, the Dutch, we have obtained from them a treaty of commerce, abolishing those differential duties, which former administrations, disposed to be most friendly to Holland, endeavoured in vain to get rid of. We have concluded with the Government of Turkey and Austria treaties of the utmost importance, which, when fully in operation, will confer extensive benefits on our trade. I ask again, whether, in pursuing that course which we considered best adapted to secure the interests and welfare of the empire, we have lost the friendship, or forfeited the good-will of other States? I confidently affirm—no; for if, at any one time more than at another, the Governments of Austria, Russia, and Prussia were disposed to place confidence in that of England, it is at the present moment. I therefore say that the right honourable Baronet has utterly failed to establish the position with which he set out; and I fearlessly assert, that in everything of importance which we have attempted to accomplish, we have hitherto succeeded.

(Cries of "Hear, hear!" and "oh, oh!" from the opposition benches).

I know that many of those objects are distasteful to gentlemen opposite, but I nevertheless consider them

calculated to promote and secure the best interests of England.

(Cries of "Hear, hear!" from the ministerial benches.)

So far from the right honourable Baronet having shown that I boasted of success where we had not accomplished our objects, I think I have established not only the entire futility of his objections, but have stated sufficient to convince the House that I did not make the assertion which has been so much commented on, without good and substantial ground for so doing.

Russia and Turkey.

My honourable friend says, that if Russia had a person exclusively devoted to her interests in the British cabinet, he could not have served her more sincerely than I have unconsciously done; that I have been labouring to destroy the Turkish empire, and put an end to its integrity, and subject such portion of it as remains under the nominal sway of the Sultan, entirely to the views of Russia. Now, I am bound to say in justice and in candour, that it is impossible for any Government to have acted with more honour and good faith in any matter than the Russian Government has acted with the other powers in respect to Turkey. I feel bound to say this, from a thorough knowledge of all the facts of the case. We can only judge of the intentions of Russia from her conduct; and I must say, that it is not just to impute to that power that her

present conduct has any tendency whatever inimical to the integrity of the Turkish empire. But, if Russia really had a desire to destroy that integrity, her readiest tool could not point out a course more likely to accomplish that object than the policy recommended by my honourable friend because it would lay all that remains to the Sultan prostrate at the feet of Russia, or any other power that might wish to attack him. With the best intentions, my honourable friend would pursue a course which, if adopted, must inevitably, and in a manner the most opposite to his wishes. What would any man say, supposing I were to argue that the best way to maintain the integrity of the British Empire, would be to make the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland the hereditary Sovereign of Ireland and Scotland, because, by so doing, it would more firmly unite the population of the British islands; and that the best friend of the British Empire could do nothing better calculated to maintain the integrity of Great Britain than to divide it between two independent Sovereigns? And yet that is the policy which my honourable friend recommends.

England and France.

Now, no man in this house attaches greater value than I do myself to the intimate alliance of Great Britain and France. I believe that that alliance is not more advantageous to the interests of the two countries than beneficial to the security of the peace of Europe; and since I have had the honour of holding my present office, I have

zealously endeavoured to promote the continuance of that alliance. On more than one occasion, I have had to defend myself in this House against a charge of doing this very thing which the honourable member now considers I should have done, that is, placing the British Government entirely at the beck of France, and serving the interests of France, whether or not they happened to be consistent with our own. On those occasions, I have always stated, that I thought nothing was more to be wished, for the interests of both countries, than that the alliance should continue as long as its endurance might be consistent with those interests; but I have, at the same time, not concealed the consideration which must force itself upon every one's mind, that the two nations are, individually, too great, too powerful, and too high-spirited, and have too many important interests at stake, which each Government is bound in duty respectively to protect, to allow of their being coupled in any such indissoluble bond, as would induce them to follow each other's policy invariably. The Government of Great Britain should neither follow the policy of France, as contradistinguished from that of Britain, nor the policy of Prussia, of Austria, or of any other country; but they ought to look, alone, to the interests of Britain, without paying any regard to the opinions that might be entertained by any foreign government or minister. The point is, to show that any proposed policy is consistent with the interests of Great Britain; and if that can be made out, the denegation of it becomes a matter of charge against the government. But the mere fact of a foreign minister holding a particular opinion on any question is no argument, and proves nothing as to the soundness of his policy,

or as to the impolicy of the British Government, which may chance to differ from him. I utterly deny, and so far the House will believe me, that the French Government has, at any time, intimated any intention of taking up arms against the other four powers on this question. I am assuming the inference drawn by my honourable friend to be correct, that France differs on some points from the other four powers; but I assure the honourable member that he is mistaken if he supposes that difference—if any difference exists—is likely to lead to a war between Great Britain and France. I think this is sufficiently improbable of itself, independently of the other relations existing between Britain and France, which I look upon as strong enough to prevent the French Government from breaking them, and rushing into the other extreme of hostility.

Looking at the other great interests of France, and the questions she has now on her hands, it is not to be supposed that France would enter into a chivalrous crusade in defence of interests not her own, which she could not reconcile with the national faith and honour, and with the obligations she has entered into with the other powers with which she is allied.

House of Commons. June 1, 1840.

Arts used to irritate the French against the English.

Now, although undoubtedly great irritation has been created in France by the course which the four powers have felt themselves bound to take, yet I feel bound to say that, if the same pains had been taken to enlighten the public

opinion of France as to the recent transactions, and the spirit in which they have been conceived, as have been taken to mislead them and excite unfounded jealousy and groundless animosity, I am convinced that the interruption which has unfortunately, for the moment, taken place in the good understanding between the two countries, either would not have existed at all, or, if it existed, it would have been infinitely less, and in a much more mitigated degree.

Debate on the Address. January 26, 1841.

An efficient naval force the best security for peace.

There is no better or more necessary security which this country can have for the continuance of peace, than to put its navy on a footing with that of any other country.

March 1, 1841.

The Christians in Syria.

I can assure the House and the honourable Baronet that the matters to which the petitioners refer have not escaped the attention of her Majesty's Government; they are too interesting, on every account, to have been neglected. Without stating the particular steps that have been taken, I am happy to be able to inform the House that a course has been adopted in order to urge the Porte to do what the petitioners so earnestly recommend; namely, that the Christians in Syria shall not only not be in a worse position than before the late changes; but, if pos-

sible, that their condition shall be improved as regards the exercise of their religion. As to what is called the right of protection, I may observe, that the protection of the Greek religion by the Emperor of Russia arises out of distinct treaties with the Porte. Every honourable member is probably aware of the circumstances under which these treaties were signed, and they stood on peculiar grounds. The sort of acknowledged right of the French Government to intercede for Roman Catholics is of very ancient date, and arose out of circumstances, as well as out of times, very different from the present. It is not, therefore, easy for the British Government to obtain an analogous privilege as regards the Protestants; but care will be taken to employ all the influence the British Government may have acquired at Constantinople to effect such an object. With regard to the Jewish population, also, her Majesty's Government have taken steps to obtain from the Porte full security for that portion of the subjects of the Sultan; indeed, if the hattı scheriff were fully enforced, it would secure, both to Christians and Jews, the objects which the honourable Baronet has in view.

March 12, 1841.

England alone labours against the slave trade.

It is only from England, and from the exertions of England, that any hope can be entertained of the extinction of the slave trade, and of the ultimate abolition of slavery throughout the world; because it is England alone that feels any deep and sincere interest in the matter. England now

holds a proud position among the nations of the earth, and exercises a great influence upon the destinies of mankind. That influence is owing, in the first place, to our great wealth, to our unbounded resources, to our military and naval strength. But it is owing still more, if possible, to the moral dignity which marks the character and conduct of the British people. I fear that the resolution of the noble Lord the member for Liverpool will tend, if adopted, to impair all these elements of our strength; I cannot but think that the respect which foreign nations have hitherto felt for the sincerity, the plain dealing, the straightforwardness of the British character, will be lowered, when they see the House of Commons adopting a resolution by which the principles of humanity and justice are (I am sorry to say so) prostituted, to serve the party purpose of a day; and I am sure that we shall sap the foundations of our strength, if, by the continuance of our restrictive and prohibitory regulations, we undermine those great commercial and manufacturing interests which are the main supports of our power. Those who desire to see the principles of liberty thrive and extend through the world, should cherish, with an almost religious veneration, the prosperity and greatness of England. So long as England shall ride pre-eminent on the ocean of human affairs, there can be none whose fortunes shall be so shipwrecked—there can be none whose condition shall be so desperate and forlorn—that they may not cast a look of hope towards the light that beams from hence; and though they may be beyond the reach of our power, our moral support and our sympathy shall cheer them in their adversity, and shall assist them to bear up, and to hold out, waiting for a better day. But if ever,

by the assault of overpowering armies, or by the errors of her misguided sons, England should fall, and her star should lose its lustre,—with her fall, for a long period of time, would the hopes of the African, whether in his own continent, or in the vast regions of America, be buried in the darkness of despair. I know well that, in such a case, Providence would, in due course of time, raise up some other nation to inherit our principles, and to imitate our practice. But, taking the world as it is, and States as they are constituted, I do not know—and I say it with regret and with pain—I do not know any nation that is now ready, in this respect, to supply our place. I say, then, that they who are the sincere friends of that cause of which we have been the strenuous advocates, and the not wholly unsuccessful supporters, instead of giving their assistance to a resolution which is founded upon a hollow pretence, ought to lend their aid to us, and to help us to accomplish those purposes which they themselves have so deeply at heart.

May 18, 1851.

A fixed duty preferred to a sliding scale.

I contend that a sliding scale, modify it as you will, contains in itself fundamental principles which render it a much less expedient mode of keeping up the object of the corn-laws than a fixed duty, supposing a fixed duty always to be moderate in its amount. What we proposed last year, was a fixed duty of eight shillings per quarter, but the right honourable Baronet has this night almost

convinced me, that this was too high, and that such an amount would be almost as prohibitory as the scale which he proposed. I do not admit this ; but what I contend for is, that the duty should be fixed and known, and that it should not be allowed to vary with the rise or fall of prices in the market. If a moderate fixed duty was established, you would have a complete change in the trade altogether—you would have an entirely different system of transactions in the corn-market ; for instead of gambling transactions, you would establish a sound and advantageous trade ; and, instead of the merchant hurrying at every rise in price to the foreign market on the continent—for the distant markets are now hardly touched—and thus at once enhancing the price of corn, you would establish a steady and well-regulated barter, which would at the same time supply your wants, and open new fields for the consumption of the produce of your manufacturing industry.

February 16, 1848.

Political stock-taking.—Retrospect of European affairs since 1815.

There are from time to time, in the course of public affairs, epochs at which it is good to pause ; to look back upon events gone by : to look forward to events to come : to investigate the political causes which may be in operation : to examine their accomplished effects, and to anticipate their future action. Such a period is the present moment ; when a political party who had been for ten

years in active opposition, have now been nearly a twelve-month in possession of power, and are about to close their first Parliamentary session. This seems not an unfitting occasion, on which to consider what were the expectations entertained when that party acceded to power; on what those expectations were founded, and how far they have been realized. But in pursuing this inquiry, it will be necessary for us to cast a rapid glance at the events of a period somewhat further back than the time when this party was in opposition. The honourable member for Shrewsbury, in a recent debate in this House, traced the causes of some, of what I consider the imaginary evils, of which he complained, to the settlement of Europe which was made at the peace of 1815. But some of the great causes which are still in operation, took their origin in the long and eventful war, of which that peace was the close. That war, which lasted nearly a quarter of a century; the progress of which was full of the most extraordinary and romantic vicissitudes; during which the tide of conquest rolled over the whole continent of Europe, first from west to east, and then back again from east to west; that war roused into the most vehement action, all the passions, all the faculties, all the energies of the nations of Europe; and it was idle to suppose that returning peace would restore those nations to the same political condition in which the war had found them. It was vain to think that men who had so long been accustomed to discuss, and practically too, theories of government, and the rights and wrongs of mankind, would at once fall back into that state of comparative slumber from which they had been roused by the outbreak of hostilities. Nevertheless, there were eminent

statesmen, not on the continent only, but in this country also, who indulged in such a dream ; but the delusion was soon dispelled. The Italians, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, made repeated, but unsuccessful, attempts to wrest from their Government free institutions. The Spaniards and Portuguese indeed at a later period, under happier auspices, with the consent of their legitimate Sovereigns, and with the protecting aid of England, have obtained for themselves the inestimable blessing of representative government. England was not exempt from the operation of those influences which acted upon the continent.

August 10, 1842.

Probable effects of the Income-Tax.

After increasing the deficiency, I must admit that they have supplied it, and with a vengeance, by their income-tax. This tax will certainly be productive—more productive than the Government anticipates—in vexation and discontent ; but all the money it produces must not be considered as clear gain to the revenue. At the outset, we were told, that people would save what they paid in income-tax, by the greater cheapness of living, that was to be the consequence of the new tariff. But we were afterwards informed, that the changes made in the tariff would not occasion any material reduction in the prices of the commodities which constitute the chief expense of living. If, however, those who have to pay the tax cannot save the amount of it, by a reduction in the cost of articles of consumption, they will endeavour to save it by diminish-

ing the extent of their consumption; and the Government will not act wisely, if they do not reckon that some part of what they get by the income-tax will be withdrawn from the produce of other taxes. The income-tax, however, which is a measure all their own, being carried, I trust and hope it will have the effect of making good the deficiency in the revenue.

Ibid,

Lord Stanley a good off-hand debater.

The noble Lord the member for North Lancashire, is almost the only member of the present Government who, in the course of this Session, has said much upon foreign affairs. The noble Lord, on the occasion to which I allude, made a very good off-hand speech, for no man is a better off-hand debater than the noble Lord. But off-hand debaters are sometimes apt to say whatever may come into their heads on the spur of the moment, without stopping to consider, as they would do if they had time, whether what they are going to say is strictly consistent with the facts to which it applies. I remember to have heard of a celebrated minister of a foreign country, who lived about the middle of the last century, who was giving instructions to one of his agents as to the language he should hold in regard to the conduct of another Government. The agent having listened to the instructions, ventured, with great humility and very submissively, to suggest, that the language which he was ordered to hold was not strictly consistent with fact, and might, indeed,

be thought to be altogether at variance with fact. What was the minister's answer? "Never mind that! what in the world does that signify! it is a good thing to say, and take care you say it." That minister would, I think, have made not a bad off-hand debater in this House.

August 10, 1842.

Lord Stanley's charge of "intermeddling."

The noble Lord charged the late Government in general, and myself in particular, with having by our restless meddling in every part of the world, created for him and his colleagues such embarrassments, political and commercial, that in every quarter they were met by difficulties arising from the work of our hands. That was his charge; and that charge I meet with an entire denial; and I shall be able to prove my denial, though the noble Lord did not stop to endeavour to prove the charge. I must say that the noble Lord's charge shows a great want of information on his part, as to the state of our foreign relations. It may be that the noble Lord and his colleagues have been too busily occupied in their own departments to have leisure to remark the archives of the Foreign Office, to know what passed in our time; but then really, they who are so wholly uninformed, ought not to make such positive assertions. But the noble Lord's attack upon me and my colleagues is an instance not only of great want of information, but also of the grossest ingratitude. So far from having left embarrassments to our successors, we have bequeathed to them facilities. Why, what have they

been doing ever since they came into office? They have been living upon our leavings. They have been subsisting upon the broken victuals which they found upon our table. They are like a band of men who have made a forcible entrance into a dwelling, and who sit down and carouse upon the provisions they found in the larder.

Ibid.

The Tories traded in the Whig policy, which was one of peace.

I contend, then, not only that we helped the Government to make the speech from the throne, but that the Government have been employed during the whole of the Session in reaping the harvest of treaties of which we sowed the seed; and they have had an abundant crop. But let me ask what are, generally speaking, the means by which a Government can best promote the commercial interests of the country? and have we been deficient in employing those means? Why, first and foremost, I put the maintenance of peace; of peace, not only between this country and foreign nations, but peace between the other great powers of the world; for it is manifest that, if serious war rages anywhere, and especially a naval war, the interests of all commercial nations must be more or less affected thereby. Now in spite of every prediction to the contrary, we maintained peace for ten years. We maintained it in spite of many difficulties thrown in our way by gentlemen belonging to the other side of the

House; who, one after the other, endeavoured to magnify into importance every petty question that arose with other countries, and to embitter every trifling dispute; whether with Russia, with France, or with the United States; whether it related to a doubtful right; or to some question about a coal depôt in Minorca; or to a chapel in Cuba; or to a pilot in the Gulf of Mexico; or to some blockade established by some foreign power. In spite of all these attempts, not always to be disregarded, to create ill feeling between this country and foreign powers, we did succeed in maintaining peace, during the whole time we had the honour to conduct the affairs of the country. We maintained it, moreover, without any sacrifice of British interests, and without any injury to our national honour; and I would appeal to any candid and impartial man to say, whether he could find anything to complain of, in the position which this country held among the other powers of the globe at the time when we quitted the Government. But not only did we maintain peace for ourselves, we were also frequently instrumental in preserving peace between other nations who had got into serious disputes. There were many instances of this kind, of which the records will be found in the archives of the Foreign Office, when the honourable gentlemen opposite have leisure during the recess to consult them.

August 10, 1842.

What the Whigs did for commerce.

But then it may be said, all this is very true ; true it is, you preserved peace ; but of what use is mere peace to the commerce of this country, if you do not obtain, by the stipulations of treaties, those securities which are necessary for the advantageous prosecution of trade ? Were we idle, I ask, in this respect ? We have been accused of restless activity and of incessant meddling in regard to foreign affairs. I take the charge as a high compliment ; and I admit it to be peculiarly just with respect to our proceedings about treaties of commerce. There are now in existence about eighteen treaties of commerce, which were concluded before we came into office, in November 1830 ; including in that number the ancient treaties with Tripolis, Tunis, and Morocco. We concluded fifteen more treaties ; and two of them—the treaties with Austria and Turkey in 1838—are of considerable importance. There is one other also, to which I must for a moment direct the attention of the House ; it is not entitled a treaty of commerce, but it deserves to be so described ; and it is not only a treaty of commerce, but a treaty tending to secure the maintenance of peace. I allude to the Convention of 1839 with France, for regulating the boundaries of the fisheries of the two countries.

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I now come to the treaties for the suppression of the slave trade. Of these there were ten in existence when we came into office. We concluded sixteen additional ones ; and there is this distinction between those which we con-

cluded, and those which had been concluded by our predecessors : that our treaties contain bolder and more effectual stipulations, than are to be found in the former treaties. I say, then, that I am entitled to assert, that as regards the maintenance of peace and the securities to be obtained for commerce by treaties, we exerted ourselves successfully in support of the great interests of the country, and that we bequeathed to our successors facilities, and not embarrassments.

August 10, 1842.

New markets opened in China and Caubul.

The largest augmentation of our commerce, for which we have laid the foundation, is that to which I have already adverted, as being certain to take place in China, when that early and satisfactory arrangement shall have been made with the Chinese Government, which Her Majesty's ministers announced to us in the Speech from the Throne. Another new and vast opening for our commerce will be afforded, by the great operations which we undertook in the countries to the west of the Indus. These great measures may be made the subject of derision by men who never heard of such places as Caubul and Candahar till they read of them in our despatches ; and who, before the glorious exploit of Lord Keane, could not have told us whether Ghuznee was an inland fortress or a sea-port town. Such gentlemen may laugh at things which they do not understand ; but their laughter cannot deprive the people of England of their good sense ; nor make that

trivial and unimportant, which is really of the utmost consequence. I may again be accused of assurance in boasting of these matters, but I presume no man will deny that, if we retain our military and political position in those countries and passes, which command the navigation of the Indus, a river navigable for more than one thousand two hundred miles from its mouth, and traversing regions inhabited by numerous nations, who, if internal tranquillity were secured to them by good government, would afford a vast market for our manufactures; no man can doubt, that if we do this, we shall obtain a great additional opening for our commerce. I say, that no rational man, no man, at least, who possesses any other of the attributes which distinguish the human race from the inferior animals, except laughter, would treat these matters otherwise than as being of the highest importance. We are told, however, that it is great assurance on my part to assert that we obtained for our Indian empire the barrier of Affghanistan. I conclude, that this charge had reference to the disasters which had lately happened in that quarter; and that what was meant was, that although we had at first got possession of that barrier, yet by subsequent events, a part of what we had so gained had been lost. But, I say, that these recent losses and disasters had nothing whatever to do with the original policy of the war, and are no proof whatever that we did not judiciously adapt our means to the end that was to be accomplished.

Ibid.

*The selection of Lord Ashburton on the American mission
an injudicious one.*

He could not help saying, and he meant no disrespect to Lord Ashburton, he did full justice to the talents of the noble Lord, and to the high character which he had attained, and which he maintained in the opinion of his countrymen ; but he must take leave to say, that, from particular circumstances connected with the opinions, habits, and, he might add, connexions of the noble Lord, he thought he was the most unfit person that could have been selected for so important a mission ; and he further thought, that the result of the negociation fully bore him out in the opinion which, from the first moment he heard of the noble Lord's appointment, he had expressed. It was not acting fairly by the noble Lord. Entertaining such opinions as he was known to do upon colonial questions, and connected, as he was known to be, with that country, with which adversely he had to maintain the interests of England, the noble Lord was not the person to be selected for an appointment which imposed upon him a duty which he was not likely to perform with credit to himself, or with advantage to his country. It was his opinion, therefore, that in this respect Her Majesty's Government had made a bad choice.

Debate on the Address. February 2, 1843.

A key to his "restless and mischievous" activity.

The honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Roebuck) did not intend, I am sure, to have done that which I think

he has done, that is, to speak in a complimentary manner of myself as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He stated a fact, and he coupled that fact with an epithet. In doing this, he certainly did not mean to be complimentary; but I throw the epithet aside, and look only to the statement of the fact, which I consider to be complimentary to any one in the situation which I had the honour to hold. The honourable and learned gentleman accused me of a "mischievous and restless activity" in the discharge of my official duties. Now, with regard to the term "mischievous," I must take the liberty of saying that the honourable and learned gentleman appears to me to have peculiar notions of what is, and what is not, mischievous; and, therefore, he will pardon me for saying, that his opinion that my official conduct was mischievous will not disturb the conviction of my mind that it was of a contrary tendency. That there was "activity," the honourable and learned gentleman declares; and we have his unequivocal testimony to the fact. I thank him for that compliment. He says, that my "restless activity encircled the globe." The sun never sets upon the interests of this country; and the individual whose duty it is to watch over the foreign relations of this country, would not be worthy of his position if his activity was not commensurate with the extensive range of the great interests that require his attention. That was my position; the honourable and learned gentleman admits my activity, and I thank him.

Mr. Roebuck's motion on the War in Affghanistan.
March 1, 1843.

The success of his foreign policy.

I shall not, after the admirable way in which my noble friend near me has touched on the general course of the foreign policy of the late ministry, proceed to any defence of myself, from the attacks which have been made upon me. I only say, that the policy of which I was the organ, was, as my noble friend has stated, the policy of the Government of which I was a member. The labour, indeed, and toil, and restless activity attributed to me, belonged to the head of the department, and so fell to my share. But with respect to that policy, I will say, that in the ten years during which we held the seals of office, it was eminently successful. I say, Sir (and I am glad to inform those honourable gentlemen, who will, no doubt, be greatly delighted at hearing this piece of historical information), that our foreign policy was eminently successful; that we engaged in many great and important transactions; that those transactions were invariably brought to a conclusion, according to the views of the British Government; that although at many periods there was great danger of disturbance to the peace of Europe, yet we—endowed, as the honourable and learned gentleman has sneeringly said, with miraculous power of running near the brink of danger, but never into it—succeeded in maintaining the peace of Europe; and though we have not been so fortunate as to meet with the approbation of gentlemen opposite who are so loud in their cheers, yet I greatly suspect, that if the result of our policy had been the reverse of what it was—if we had supported and established despotism in Spain

and Portugal—(Cries of “Oh, oh!” from the ministerial benches)—if we had employed a military force in crushing the independence of the Belgian people—though we might have been ashamed of the results of the policy, we should have been greeted by the acclamations of those who now heap on us their vituperation and censure.

March 1, 1843.

Lord Ellenborough and Buonaparte.

Now, Sir, we object to the proclamation of Lord Ellenborough on the ground that its language is altogether unworthy and unbecoming a great public functionary; my right honourable friend beside me compared it to some of the bulletins of the earlier part of the French Revolution—in which he slightly erred, as the noble Lord opposite has shown. It does not appear to have been taken from the bulletins of so early a period. It is rather from the bulletins of Buonaparte, who certainly was, as the noble Lord says, pre-eminently fitted for the government of empires. “Napoleon,” says the noble Lord, “was able to command large bodies of men, and rule the destinies of millions; and, therefore, we ought not to blame Lord Ellenborough for imitating his example.” We have heard of those who thought that by holding their heads on one side they would be thought wise as Aristotle, or that by stuttering they would rival Demosthenes. If Lord Ellenborough wished to rival the genius of Napoleon, I think he might have found a better subject for his

imitation than his bulletins, which excited the ridicule of all sensible men,

March 1, 1843.

The unfitness of Lord Ellenborough as Governor-General.

I say, then, that no ground has been laid why this House should not express that opinion which appears to have been unanimously felt—that this proclamation was unwise and indecorous; and if it were so, it must, in a Governor-General, be reprehensible. It is in vain to tell us that Lord Ellenborough has in other respects, during the short period of his administration, deserved so well of the country, that we ought to pass over his faults, and think only of his merits. I say, that his services have been next to nothing—that they consist chiefly in his having employed those military means which his predecessor had provided—which he had not himself the courage to employ, but which other men had the courage to advise him to employ, and which he employed against his own inclination. His merit therefore in the transactions which have taken place in Affghanistan is next to nothing, whilst by this proclamation, which the noble Lord has characterised as boastful, he has proved his unfitness for so responsible a situation. I think it is essential that the House should notice this. I think that when a proclamation of this sort, proving the individual who issued it to be devoid of those feelings which ought

to guide a person intrusted with so important a charge, is brought under the notice of the House, it would not only show a want of courage on the part of the House, but an abandonment of our duty as the representatives of the people, if we were to shrink from expressing that opinion which all of us entertain, however much some of us may wish that it should not be expressed.

Debate on Lord Ellenborough's Proclamation,
March 9, 1843.

Our connection with America.

I trust that the part which it fell to my lot to take in the management of our foreign relations, during the ten years I had the honour to hold the seals of the Foreign Office, will afford a sufficient proof that I am not so irrational as not fully to appreciate the value of peace. There is, indeed, no rational man in these times, and in this country, who must not feel that peace is one of the greatest blessings which nations can enjoy, and that war is one of the severest calamities that can afflict mankind. But if this be true in the abstract, and if peace in general, and with all nations, ought to be the great aim of those who are charged with the Government of this country, the United States is, of all countries, that with which it ought to be our object to maintain, not merely peace, but the most intimate connection.

The motion with respect to the Treaty of Washington.
March 20, 1843.

Treaties.

It is a maxim of international intercourse that unequal treaties and compacts, however much they may seem to smooth temporary difficulties and to get rid of embarrassments of the moment, are not in the long run consistent with reciprocal good feeling, and tend to endanger rather than to consolidate peace.

March 21, 1843.

Slavery and the Slave-Trade. Right of search.

In 1831 and 1833 the British Government concluded with that of France treaties giving the mutual right of search for the suppression of the slave-trade. It is indeed but too true, that as long as the condition of slavery anywhere exists, the slave-trade cannot be entirely nor permanently extinguished, because there will always be a great temptation to carry slaves to those countries where slaves may be bought and sold; and nothing can completely put an end to the slave-trade, but the universal abolition of slavery itself. But even, during the continued existence of slavery, we may greatly keep down the slave-trade, and reduce it within infinitely narrow limits by an active and watchful police on the sea. But such a police cannot be exercised without a mutual right of search; and that mutual right of search will be ineffectual and liable to be eluded, until it shall have been consented to by treaty by every State that has a flag flying on the ocean. And this you may depend on, that in every

country, be that country which it may, in every country where a clamour is raised against mutual right of search for the suppression of the slave-trade, at the bottom you will find, as the instigators of that clamour, some slave-trading or slave-holding interest. Of this there cannot be the slightest doubt. Now the late Government felt the great importance of getting all the naval powers and States of Christendom to unite in a general league for the suppression of the slave-trade; and immediately on coming into office, we addressed ourselves to France, and obtained from her the treaties of 1831 and 1833, which were greatly to the honour of both countries; and the effect of those treaties was, to put an end at once to the slave-trade, which, up to that time, had been carried on under the French flag. England and France then addressed themselves to Austria, Prussia, and Russia, and requested those powers to accede to the treaties of 1831 and 1833; and there being among the subjects of those powers no slave-traders or slave-holders, and the Governments being therefore free from the sway of any sinister influences, they most readily agreed to join with England and France in our endeavours to accomplish the great object we had at heart.

March 21, 1843.

The same.

I do hope and trust, however, that the Government will this night put upon those words their true and proper construction, and tell this House boldly and manfully, that

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they hold negroes within British jurisdiction to be as much entitled to the rights of hospitality, as the masters who were their owners before they entered our ports; and I trust we shall hear that our colonial authorities have been instructed to continue to exercise what the Americans are pleased to call an officious interference; and that no slave will enter a British port, whether in a colony or in the mother country, for this law is now the same in both, without being immediately set free. An American slave-owner ought to feel, that if his slave-ship enters a British port, it is to him, as far as his slave-property is concerned, as if she had foundered at sea; excepting only that he will have the consolation to think that his ship and his crew are safe, and that his slaves, instead of having perished by a miserable death, have entered as it were, upon a new life of freedom and civilization.

March 21, 1843.

The effect of undue concession.

Thus, even before this vaunted treaty (the Treaty of Washington), which was to settle all disputes, extinguish all differences, and secure perpetual peace, has come into operation, new differences have arisen, and old ones have been revived. A fresh proof, how true it is, that undue concessions, instead of securing peace, only increase the appetite for aggression; and depend upon it, that if we go on submitting to every pretension of every foreign power, and conceding everything which may be sternly demanded of us, we shall be driven at last to a point, at which war

will become inevitable, but will be begun at a disadvantage.

Ibid.

Lord John Russell's fixed duty.

Now what was it that led to the termination of our political existence? was it not the proposal of measures which, in our opinion—and I think by the general acknowledgment of men of all parties in the country—were calculated to extend our commerce, and to relieve us from those financial difficulties in which we are now involved? If this present Government had adopted the measures we proposed with respect to the articles of corn, and sugar, and timber, my belief is, that instead of a diminished, they would have had a progressively increasing revenue.

Debate on the State of the Nation. July 28, 1843.

The English Government aids not a Spanish party, but the Spanish nation.

The only party which it was the interest of the British Government to support in Spain was the Spanish nation; they had no interest to carry in Spain by supporting one division of the country more than another. The interest of England was, that the Spanish nation should be strong, independent, and prosperous. What we wanted was, that Spain should be a strong and substantial State, and an element of the balance of power in Europe; we had

no party interest to maintain in Spain. The interest of England was to maintain whatever party was best capable of supporting and maintaining the real independence of the Spanish nation. As to supporting one party rather than another, in the hope of getting a better commercial treaty, I think, that any petty object of that kind would be unworthy of our consideration. The wise and proper policy of this country is to support in Spain the perfect independence of the Spanish nation; that is the only wise policy to be pursued, and such policy is generous as well as wise, and must be in the end successful.

February 27, 1844.

The Greek nation eulogised.

I concur with the honourable member for Bridport, that the change which had lately taken place in Greece, did not amount to a revolution, but was only a measure taken for the assertion and maintenance of rights, which had been conceded in the Greek nation by treaty: therefore the manifestation made by the Greek nation could not with propriety be called a revolution; their conduct during that event, in my opinion, did them the highest honour. Persons have been in the habit of saying that the Greeks had been so many centuries under slavery and oppression, that they were not yet fitted for the enjoyment of a constitutional form of government; the event has proved how undeserving they were of that opinion. Greece has by her acts given a convincing

disproof to such notions, and has afforded an evidence of the soundness of the position that all nations are fitted for the enjoyment of a constitutional government, if it were given to them: and for my part, I believe that if any nation should be found not fit for constitutional government, the best way to fit such nation for it would be to give it to them; but if nations were to wait until the enemies of popular institutions pronounced them fitted to receive them, I fear they would have to wait long enough. Nothing could be more honourable to the Greek nation than the mode in which they brought about the establishment of their constitution: and I think also, that the conduct of the King of Greece during this trying state of things has been infinitely honourable to him. Many people had thought, knowing the repugnance which he had evinced to a popular constitution, that his Majesty would have endeavoured to have escaped from the practical adoption of that constitution, which had been forced upon him; but on the contrary, he appears to have acted throughout with the utmost sincerity and good faith in so fulfilling the engagements which he entered into with the Greek nation in September last. I sincerely hope that both his Majesty and the Greek people will continue to follow up what was then done in the same spirit.

Mr. B. Cochrane's motion. March 14, 1844.

*The concessions of Lord Aberdeen to foreign powers
lowered the dignity of England.*

I am anxious to call the attention of the House and of the Government to the inconvenient consequences which have arisen, from the system of policy pursued by Her Majesty's present advisers—a system which appears to be one of resistance at home and of concession abroad. When the right honourable gentlemen opposite came into office, they adopted a course which they probably thought would lead to a state of tranquillity abroad, and secure to them the good-will of foreign Governments. I doubted at the time the success of that line of policy, and affairs which have arisen since must have convinced ministers, as they have convinced the country, that it is not a system calculated to advance the interests, or to uphold the honour of the country. They commenced by making a great concession to the United States, in the hope, no doubt, that by such means, they would restore perfect harmony between the Governments of the two countries; but the result was, that after the cession of the greater portion of the disputed territory, another question arose, namely, that concerning the Oregon territory, which promised to lead to as many difficulties as that respecting the north-east boundary. Then there were the questions of the right of visit, and the annexation of Texas to the United States, which were of great importance to the interests of England, and which yet remained to be resolved. In like manner with regard to France; the policy thus adopted towards that country was of the same character and tendencies. In Spain,

shortly after their accession to office, there occurred questions of considerable difficulty, the embarrassments connected with which were fomented by French intrigue, and ministers, out of deference to the French Government, counselled the Regent of Spain to submit to great indignity in the question which had arisen with M. Salvandy, the French Ambassador, and also in the affair regarding the conduct of M. Lesseps, the French Consul at Barcelona. The consequence of this was, that the Spanish nation felt that the Regent had lost the moral support of this country, and his enemies were allowed to prevail. He fell, and British interests, in my opinion, were sacrificed in his downfall. In Otaheite a question arose as to whether France should accept the protectorate of the island, which had been refused by England—which, indeed, had been twice refused by England; but, be it always remembered, that the former Government who had declined the offer, had assured the Government of Tahiti, that England would always give it the support of her good offices in any difference which might arise between Tahiti and any foreign power. When that question presented itself, Her Majesty's Government again acquiesced, and that acquiescence in French aggression led that power to take another step which may not be productive of very serious consequences. No doubt that line of policy was undertaken for the purpose of obtaining temporary quiet, and without foresight or regard as to what the eventual consequences might be, putting aside all care for the ultimate sacrifices which must be made in following such a course. Ministers, in fact, appear to shape their policy, not with reference to the great interests of their own country, but from a consideration of

the effect which their course may produce upon the position of foreign Governments. It may very well be a desirable object, and one worthy of consideration, that a particular individual should continue in the administration of affairs in another country, but it is too much that, from regard to that object, the interests of this country should be sacrificed, and that every demand of foreign powers should be acceded to. The same course, indeed, was pursued by the party opposite on former occasions. In 1810, the French were allowed to obtain possession of Algeria. The right honourable gentlemen opposite were then in office ; they remained quiescent, in order that the ministry of Prince Polignac might be maintained in power, and we are all aware of the consequences which have arisen from their acquiescence on that occasion. No doubt it is for the interest of this country, it is for the interest of France herself, as well as for the interests of the world, that M. Guizot should remain minister of France, but the Government of this country has no right to sacrifice either the honour or the interests of England, in order to continue M. Guizot in power.

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It seems to me that the system of purchasing temporary security by lasting sacrifices, and of placing the interests of foreign ministers above those of this country, can never be other than a fatal one to the country, or to the Administration which pursues such a course. Since the accession to office of the right honourable gentlemen opposite, no one can have failed to observe, that there has been a great diminution of British influence and consideration in every foreign country. Influence abroad is to be maintained only by the operation of one or other of two

principles—hope and fear. We ought to teach the weaker powers to hope that they will receive the support of this country in their time of danger. Powerful countries should be taught to fear that they will be resisted by England in any unjust acts, either towards ourselves or towards those who are bound in ties of amity with us. But after the abandonment of Spain by her Majesty's Government, what weak power can retain any hope of moral support or of effective aid from this country? And after we have ceded and given up the disputed territory in North America, what powerful country can entertain any apprehension of our resistance to encroachment? Although her Majesty's late advisers had sometimes the misfortune to be in a minority in the House of Commons, still in their foreign policy they had the good fortune always to be in the majority on the Belgian negotiation. When the Dutch were untractable, we had the assistance of France and Belgium, and we controlled the Dutch; when afterwards the Belgians grew unreasonable, we had the support of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, and we restrained the Belgians. In Portugal, when we wished to establish the constitution and Donna Maria, we had France and Spain on our side, and we carried our point. In Spain, when we were desirous of upholding Isabella and liberty, we had France and Portugal with us, and we carried our point. When we desired to effect an arrangement in the Levant, which we thought essential to the peace of Europe, as well as to the interests of England, we had Austria, Russia, Prussia and Turkey with us, and that arrangement was carried into execution. In all these great questions, her Majesty's late Government had the concurrence and co-operation of all those powers

which were nearest to the scene of operation, and were, from their local position, the best informed upon the subject, the most able to co-operate, and the most interested in the policy pursued. What may be the interest of the present Government I know not; but while it is exercised upon the system I have pointed out, and where important and prominent interests are sacrificed for the temporary convenience of foreign Governments, it can never be exercised in a manner which can be satisfactory to this country. I am most anxious that the House, the country, and the Government itself, should direct their attention to the results which have already arisen from the mistaken system on which Ministers set out, and which they appear still to pursue. It is a system, of all others, the most likely to lead the country into serious difficulties, and which has already produced occurrences which may involve us in war.

Speech on Foreign Policy of the Peel Government.

August 7, 1844.

Is no believer "in war parties" in other countries.

It is said that there are parties in other countries whose constant cry is for war; but I am totally incredulous about these so-called war parties. No doubt there may be individuals, or small knots of men, in other countries, who may fancy that they can promote their own political views by holding warlike language; but I do not believe that in any country there is any party sufficiently powerful, by their weight and numbers, to influence the policy of their

country, who really wish for unprovoked and mercenary war with England. I believe nothing of the kind. Even under the present Government, this country is still powerful enough to make any other nation pause before they enter into a war with England, unless it be in their own defence.

August 7, 1844.

Effects of "conciliatory" Foreign policy.—Necessity of strengthening the naval force.

When this Government came into power, they flattered themselves, that by a system of what they called conciliation, but what I thought excessive and undue acquiescence, in the wishes and demands of foreign powers, they would be able to maintain such a state of friendly relations with all foreign Governments as would enable them greatly to reduce the naval and military establishments of the country. That was one of the anticipations in which the Government indulged. They went much too far, consistently, in my opinion, with the interests and the honour of the country ; and what has been the result ? Why, in the course of the last few months, according to the declaration of the Minister of the Crown, in the speech from the Throne, and according to the declaration made in a similar manner in the speech of the King of the French, we have been on the verge of a serious rupture with France. Again, notwithstanding the great sacrifice of interests and rights made by the present Government as to territory in North America, with the view of establishing,

as they contended for ever, the most friendly relations with the United States—the recent official declarations which have come from that quarter have been such as cannot tend to diminish in any degree the motives which this House ought to be actuated by in providing, by the vote now under our consideration, for the increased efficiency of our naval force. Now, Sir, to say that our naval force is the main and sole defence of this country would be going a great deal too far; because, even if we had no navy, a people of twenty-six millions, endowed with all the courage and the moral qualities, as well as possessed of the wealth and resources which fortunately this nation can boast of, must be able to bid defiance to any attempt at conquest by any foreign power whatever. But such attempts, however successfully they may be met, and however triumphantly repelled, must lead to contests on our own shores. And every man knows that even victories over a foreign invader must be attended by great loss and wide-spreading calamities on the part of the country which is the scene of conflict. Therefore, in that point of view, it would be difficult to rate too highly the importance of our naval force. If we consider besides, that we are a commercial country, having valuable interests floating on every sea, and that besides we hold extensive and valuable colonial possessions, it is clear that the maintenance of an efficient navy ought to be one of the most urgent duties of the Parliament of this country.

Discussion on Navy Estimates. March 31, 1845.

Necessity for Government National Defences.—Increased power of France.

I think that any man who values peace, and who is sensible of the advantages which the country derives from it, must feel that this is a matter of first-rate importance; for peace between two countries can never be secure except when they stand upon a footing of equality with regard to their respective means of self-defence. Now, Sir, France, as I had occasion to state on a former occasion, has now a standing army of three hundred and forty thousand men, fully equipped, including a large force of cavalry and artillery, and, in addition to that, one million of the National Guard. I know that the National Guard of Paris amounts to eighty thousand men, trained, disciplined, reviewed, clothed, equipped, and accustomed to duty, and perfectly competent, therefore, to take the internal duty of the country, and to set free the whole of the regular force. Now, Sir, if France were a country separated from our own by an impassable barrier—if she had no navy, or if the Channel could not be crossed, I should say this was a matter with which we had no concern. But that is not the case. In the first place, France has a fleet equal to ours. I do not speak of the number of vessels actually in existence, but of the fleet in commission and half-commission, in both which respects the fleet of France is equal to that of this country. But, again, the Channel is no longer a barrier. Steam navigation has rendered that which was before impassable by a military force, nothing more than a river passable by a

steam bridge. France has steamers capable of transporting thirty thousand men, and she has harbours, inaccessible to any attack, in which these steamers may collect, and around which, on the land side, large bodies of men are constantly quartered. These harbours are directly opposite to our coast, and within a few hours' voyage of the different landing-places on the coast of England. Well then, I say, that is not a state of things under which you can remain secure of peace, unless you are in a state of preparation to meet any sudden attack. Sir, I shall be told, perhaps, that our relations with France are of the most amicable nature. I admit it, and I trust that they may so continue. But questions of the greatest importance may start up in any quarter of the globe, and we can never be sure, from month to month, with respect to two countries which have such extensive and diversified interests to be considered, that questions of the utmost delicacy and difficulty will not unexpectedly arise. Therefore, I say, when those questions do arise, you cannot deal with them on a footing of equality, and in a manner consistent with the interest and dignity of the country, if you are not in such a state as to be at least inaccessible to any sudden or early attack.

July 30, 1845.

The National Defences. Facility of approach for a French armament.

I will suppose that our dockyards are perfectly inaccessible. I will suppose that we have harbours fortified against attack as well as against the sea, in which our steam-

vessels—assuming that we have a sufficient number of them—might be kept ready to act against any sudden invasion. But you must recollect that Calais, St. Malo, Cherbourg, and Dunkirk, are within a few hours' passage of our coast; and that supposing a rupture to occur between the two countries, which I hope will not be the case, you would have very short notice of any meditated attack; you would have very little means of sending your steamers in sufficient numbers to prevent a landing; and, therefore, though not for the purpose of attacking your dockyards, still for that of invading your coast, you might have twenty or thirty thousand men landed without any possibility of your preventing such an event. Well, then, what is the state of the internal garrison which you can rely upon, supposing such an unfortunate event to happen? Why, you have nothing but the regular forces of this country, which amounts, probably, including that in the Channel Islands, to less than fifty thousand men—twenty thousand in Ireland, and the rest distributed over Great Britain; and this force must be brigaded, a staff must be appointed, and the cavalry and artillery must be all brought together before you could put into the field a force capable of opposing an enemy. I would ask the Government what time must necessarily elapse before that could be done? You would have to recruit your army, and to ballot for the militia; and I ask any man who understands these matters, in what condition you would be placed in case of a rupture with any foreign power? The time and expense required for recruiting and collecting the army, would be more than any man, who has not turned his attention to these things, could possibly imagine. Well, then, I say,

you have an acknowledged, established, and constitutional mode of guarding against this state of things, which of late has been abandoned on account of the expense, but for the continued abandonment of which I hold that that reason does not any longer apply, while other reasons for resorting to it have greatly augmented within the last few years. I refer to the summoning of the regular militia.

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The estimate for training the militia of Great Britain in 1821 was £90,000 ; that was the whole expense connected with fifty thousand men. I do not mean to say that these are not considerable sums ; and no doubt, if there were a deficiency in the revenue, it would be a balance of considerations whether you would incur this expense, or take your chance of two or three years' continuance of peace ; but then we have a war tax in time of peace ; and that being the case, for Heaven's sake, let us have those ordinary precautions which will save us from the necessity of incurring the greater expense of actual war. For a comparatively small amount you might have the means of assembling in arms within a fortnight fifty thousand men as the organized British militia, and seventy thousand if, in addition to that number, you organized the militia in Ireland. A training of twenty-eight days annually would place that force in a state of efficiency, sufficient, probably, for all the duties which they might suddenly be called upon to perform ; and if you chose at the end of the third year to give them fourteen days more, you would have a force which would be amply sufficient for the national defence.

July 30, 1845.

A trained militia would deter other persons from attacking us.

And do not let honourable gentlemen imagine that the existence of a force of that sort, or the knowledge on the part of foreign powers that through the existence of such a force you were in a condition to defend your shores against attack, would not be a most powerful means of preserving you from difficulties which might ultimately lead to war. I venture to state that no country in Europe is in such a state of defencelessness as England is at the present moment.

July 30, 1845.

The national defences.—The Peel Government exhorted to be less apathetic on the subject.

I know Governments are very apt to think—and the present one is not less so than any former one—that the duty of ministers of the Crown is first of all to obtain and to retain a majority in this House. That is quite true; for without a majority in this House they could not continue to be ministers. But that is not enough. It is not enough to be able to struggle through the debate, and to scramble through the attack; it is not enough to bring in good measures—and some of the measures of the Government this year I admit to have been good; it is not enough to act upon the best and soundest principles of domestic legislation, if you do not, in addition to that, place

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the country in as perfect a state of security as you possibly can; for if your shores are not sufficiently protected, all legislation may be in vain. Well, then, I say that this country is in the most defenceless state, considered with reference to the means of attack possessed by other powers: on the one hand, the country is in the most defenceless condition in which she has ever yet been left; on the other hand, there never was a period at which your resources, population, and wealth were so great, and at which you had equal means, with less pressure on the industry and resources of the country, of placing yourself in a situation of comparative security. I contend, therefore, that it is the duty of the Government to look seriously at these matters. Sir, the old maxim, "*Si vis pacem para bellum*," is both true and false. It is a false maxim if it mean that you ought, in time of peace, to prepare a sufficient force for aggressive hostility. Such a course of proceeding is doubly mischievous. In the first place it excites unnecessary jealousy on the part of foreign countries, and leads them to engage in preparations which may tend to render the preservation of peace uncertain. But, moreover, that power which, in time of peace, arms itself with a view to aggressive movements, naturally acquires a disposition to make use of the means so attained; and thus what has been done begets a feeling which is inimical to peace. But if the maxim refers only to the preparation in peace of the means of defence in case of war, it is a most legitimate and sound maxim. It is by that means alone that any country can secure to itself the continuance of the blessings of peace. I hold that we have not at present that state of military preparation which would enable us to look with

indifference upon any sudden contingencies. I hold that it is in the power of the Government to secure the necessary means of defence—at least to a very considerable degree—at a comparatively small expense, and without any infringement of those constitutional principles which I for one have not the least wish to disregard. Sir, it is upon these grounds that I have thought it my duty to call the attention of the Government to this subject. I would entreat them to consider whether it be consistent with that responsibility which weighs upon them, not merely to govern this country well, but to defend also that country which they so govern, to refrain from resorting to those constitutional methods of defence which may be so easily adopted, and which, in time of war, would add so greatly to our means of national defence.

July 30, 1845.

Hostile tariffs an absurdity.

Is the state of our commercial relations with foreign countries a reason why we should maintain this system of protection? Some people say it is. Some gentlemen argue that free trade might do very well if it was practised by all nations, but that one-sided free trade will not do; that our example will not be followed; and that this system, not being mutual and reciprocal, will be an injury to ourselves and an advantage to other nations. Now, I hold this to be just as great a fallacy as the other. For what is the effect of mutually hostile tariffs between ourselves and other countries? Take any foreign country—

take France, for instance. The high tariffs of France and of England are alike injurious to both countries. Our high tariff against French commodities is an injury to ourselves as consumers, and to the French as producers; while the high tariff of France against British commodities is an injury to the French consumers as well as to the English producers. Here, then, is an inconvenience on both sides of the water.

March 27, 1846.

Free trade defined.—Prefers a moderate fixed duty for revenue.

By free trade I do not mean, necessarily and in all cases, trade free from custom-duties. We are obliged, as I have already said, to raise a large yearly revenue; and we must, for that purpose, have heavy taxes. The least inconvenient and least objectional method of raising a large portion of that revenue is by indirect taxation, and that involves the necessity of custom-duties. Therefore, when I speak of free trade, I mean trade free from duties laid on for the purpose of prevention or obstruction, but not trade free from duties laid on for the purpose of revenue, and which, in order to accomplish their purpose, must be so moderate as not to cripple or impede commercial transactions. Now, my opinion has been, and I own, still continues to be, that there is no reason why the trade in corn should, in this respect, be an exception to the general rule. I am for a moderate fixed duty.

Ibid.

The extinction of Cracow a violation of the Treaty of Vienna.

Now, notwithstanding the ingenious argument which the House has just heard from the honourable gentleman who spoke last, tending to show that the extinction of Cracow was no violation of the Treaty of Vienna, I think I shall have no difficulty in satisfying the House that the opinion which was expressed by her Majesty in the speech from the Throne, and which is partaken in, I believe, by everybody almost in this House except the honourable gentleman who has just sat down, and the noble Lord who sits near him, is correct, and that that extinction of the State and city of Cracow was a violation of the Treaty of Vienna.

Debate on Cracow. March 16, 1847.

The probity of Commercial England.

If there is one foundation upon which the moral strength of this country depends more than another, it is that which derives it from its faithful and honourable fulfilment of the engagements it has entered into.

Debate on Cracow. March 16, 1847.

Natural influence of Russia on Turkey.

If any man supposes that any treaty or diplomatic acts can prevent Russia from practically exercising a great, and

perhaps the greatest influence in Turkey, that person must be blind to the geography of the world, and to the influence which a powerful nation must have on a weaker one. It is quite manifest that our influence on Turkey must be founded on hope, and that Russian influence must be founded on fear.

March 1, 1848.

Nations not permanently influenced by friendships.

As to the romantic notion that nations or governments are much or permanently influenced by friendships, and God knows what, why, I say that those who maintain those romantic notions, and apply the intercourse of individuals to the intercourse of nations, are indulging in a vain dream. The only thing which makes one Government follow the advice and yield to the counsel of another, is the hope of benefit to accrue from adopting it, or the fear of the consequences of opposing it.

Ibid.

His foreign policy defended against Mr. Urquhart.

I am conscious that during the time for which I have had the honour to direct the foreign relations of this country, I have devoted to them all the energies which I possess. Other men might have acted, no doubt, with more ability—none could have acted with a more entire devotion both of their time and faculties. The principle on which I have thought the foreign affairs of this country

ought to be conducted is, the principle of maintaining peace and friendly understanding with all nations, as long as it was possible to do so consistently with a due regard to the interests, the honour, and the dignity of this country. My endeavours have been to preserve peace. All the Governments of which I have had the honour to be a member have succeeded in accomplishing that object.

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I hold with respect to alliances, that England is a power sufficiently strong, to steer her own course, and not to tie herself as an unnecessary appendage to the policy of any other Government. I hold that the real policy of England is to be the champion of justice and right; pursuing that course with moderation and prudence, not becoming the Quixote of the world, but giving the weight of her moral sanction and support wherever she thinks that justice is, and wherever she thinks that wrong has been done.

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As long as she sympathises with right and justice, she will never find herself altogether alone. She is sure to find some other State, of sufficient power, influence, and weight, to support and aid her in the cause she may think fit to pursue. Therefore I say that it is a narrow policy to suppose that this country or that, is to be marked out as the eternal ally or the perpetual enemy of England. We have no eternal allies, and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal and perpetual, and those interests it is our duty to follow. When we find other countries marching in the same course, and pursuing the same object as ourselves, we consider them as our friends,

and we think for the moment that we are on the most cordial footing; when we find other countries that take a different view, and thwart us in the object we pursue, it is our duty to make allowance for the different manner in which they may follow out the same object. It is our duty not to pass so harsh a judgment upon others; and it is our duty not lightly to engage this country in the frightful responsibilities of war, because from time to time, we may find this or that power disinclined to concur with us in matters where their opinion and ours may fairly differ. That has been, as far as my faculties have allowed me to act upon it, the guiding principle of my conduct. And if I might be allowed to express in one sentence the principle which I think ought to guide an English minister, I would adopt the expression of Canning, and say that with every British minister the interests of England ought to be the Shibboleth of his policy.

March 1, 1848.

Guiding rule of his Foreign policy.

Our guiding rule is, to promote and advance, as far as we can the interests of the country to which we have the good fortune to belong, and which we have the honour to serve. We have no everlasting union with this or that country—no identification of policy with another. We have no natural enemies—no perpetual friends. When we find a power pursuing that course of policy which we wish also to promote, for the time that power becomes our ally; and when we find a country whose interests are

at variance with our own, we are involved for a time with the Government of that country. We find no fault with other nations for pursuing their interests; and they ought not to find fault with us if, in pursuing our interests, our course may be different from theirs.

May 16, 1848.

“Mock” Mediation.

Now, with regard to what have been called our mock mediations. Why, any one who has heard what has passed here and elsewhere within the last twenty-four hours, might be induced to think that, never before this year, was there such a thing as mediation, and that it was a thing newly invented for some mischievous purpose by the present Government. I confess that I must plead guilty to having committed this crime of mediation long before the present year, and fortunately, I may state, with considerable success. The Government of which I had the honour of being a member, was able, in 1834, by means of a mediation, to prevent a rupture between France and the United States; and was also by the same means enabled, in 1838, to make peace between France and the Government of Mexico. Other smaller and less important mediations I do not mention, but I might do, as they were also successful; but the two which I have mentioned prevented hostilities, which must have been followed by very serious consequences. But in this sweeping condemnation of mediations, my predecessor in office, the Earl of Aberdeen, is liable to a similar charge

as myself, for he in conjunction with Russia mediated between Turkey and Persia, and also between Denmark, Sardinia, and Morocco ; to say nothing of that unfortunate mediation upon which the honourable member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli) so much dwelt—I mean that respecting the affairs of the River Plate, which is still going on, and the responsibility, in regard to which, I share with my predecessor in office. I trust that some paragraph will be inserted in the amendment, in condemnation of my predecessor as well as myself for resorting to these courses. “Mock mediations,” indeed ! One would really suppose from what has been said, that these mediations were merely diplomatic dramas, got up for the amusements of diplomatists, and leading to no practical or useful result.

February 2, 184 9

The “War party.”

We desired the Minister of Spain to go back from London to Madrid, in consequence of the Minister of England having been desired to quit Madrid for London. Although I admit the act of Spain was an affront—although I feel that reparation is due—and although I trust that when the Spanish Government comes calmly to reflect upon the matter, and to see how insufficient were the grounds upon which it proceeded, it may feel inclined to make that reparation ; yet I confess I am not prepared to go the length of the honourable gentleman, and to say that we ought to have declared war

against Spain, as a revenge for that affront. Sir, I have been accused, wholly without foundation, of being prone to measures that have a tendency to lead to war. The war party now sits *there!*

[Here the noble Lord pointed to the opposition side of the House, amid great cheering and laughter.]

I laid all the papers connected with that Spanish transaction on the table last year ; and what it is the honourable gentleman wants now, remains for him more clearly to explain.

February 2, 1849.

Naples and Sicily.—The “Right Divine.”

I understood the honourable gentleman (Mr. George Bankes) to say, that all who take up arms in vindication of their rights are to be regarded in the light of insurgents, and he seems to belong to that ancient school of political doctrine which vindicates

“The right divine of kings to govern wrong.”

He thinks that nations are made for Sovereigns and Governments, instead of being of opinion that Sovereigns and Governments are appointed for the benefit and advantage of nations.

March 7, 1849.

The Moral Weight of England.

I say, in contradiction to the honourable gentleman, that this country does stand well with the great majority of foreign powers—that the character of this country stands high—and that the moral influence of England is great—a moral influence which I do not take credit to this Government for having created, but which is founded upon the good sense, and the wise and enlightened conduct of the British nation. Foreign countries have seen that in the midst of the events which have violently convulsed other countries of Europe, and which have shaken to their foundations ancient institutions, this country has held fast to her ancient landmarks, standing firm in her pride of place :

“ Fell not, but stands unshaken, from within,
Or from without, 'gainst all temptations armed.”

That has given confidence to foreign countries in the Government and people of this country. When other monarchies were shaken to their very foundations, England stood unhurt, by its evident security giving confidence to other powers. They have seen that the Government of England is not, like that of other countries, struggling for its existence, and occupied in guarding against daily dangers. They have seen that the British Government acts in unison with the spirit of the nation with whose interests it is charged. They know that its advice is worthy of being listened to ; and that advice, I can tell the honourable member, is valued and respected, not

spurned with contumely, as he would wish us to suppose.

March 7, 1849.

The inapplicability of the principle of arbitration to England.

I confess also, that I consider it would be a very dangerous course for this country itself to take, because there is no country which, from its political and commercial circumstances, from its maritime interests, and from its colonial possessions, excites more envious and jealous feelings in different quarters than England does ; and there is no country that would find it more difficult to discover really disinterested and impartial arbiters. There is also no country that would be more likely than England to suffer in its important commercial interests from submitting the case to arbiters not disinterested, not impartial, and not acting with a due sense of their responsibility.

June 12, 1849.

French intervention at Rome.

The answer we gave (to the French Government) was this : that it was not for us to judge for the French Government, but that in our opinion the differences which had arisen between the Pope and his subjects might be arranged by diplomatic intervention ; and that in our opinion, that diplomatic intervention ought to have for its object an understanding between the Pope and his subjects,

by which the Pope, returning to Rome, would secure to the Roman people those constitutional institutions which were granted last year, and especially a practical and real separation between the temporal and spiritual authorities of Rome.

June 11, 1849.

The Arctic Expedition.

My honourable friend (Sir R. H. Inglis) has only expressed the feelings of the House, and not only of the House but of the country, in alluding as he has done, to the generous conduct of the Governments of Russia and the United States, in sending forth vessels to search for those enterprising navigators, of whom no intelligence has now been received for so long a period. Such expeditions are amongst the most honourable which maritime countries can undertake, and bring upon their instigators a degree of glory which can never be achieved by the mere triumph of conquest.

June 12, 1849.

A love of peace compatible with the spirit to repel attack.

I certainly agree with my honourable friend (Mr. Cobden), and with those of whose opinion he has been on this occasion the organ, in attributing the utmost possible value to this motion, and in feeling the greatest dislike,

and I may say horror of war, in any shape. I will not go into those common-place remarks, which must be familiar to the mind of every man who has contrasted the calamities of war with the various blessings and advantages which attend upon peace. I cannot conceive that there exists in this country the man who does not attach the utmost value to the blessings of peace, and who would not make the greatest sacrifices to save his country from the calamities attendant upon war. And although I differ from my honourable friend, and although I am not ready to accede to his motion, yet I cannot say but that I am glad he has made that proposition, because it will be useful for this country, and for Europe at large, that every man should know that in this assembly, and among the vast masses of men, of whom we are the representatives, there is a sincere and honest disposition to maintain peace. But that which I wish to guard against—the impression that I wish should not be entertained anywhere, either in this country or out of it—is, that while there is in England a fervent love of peace, an anxious and steady desire to maintain it, there should not exist the impression that the manly spirit of Englishmen is dead—that England is not ready, as she is ever, to repel aggression and resent injury, and that she never will be found acting aggressively against any other power. Sir, it would be most dangerous indeed to the interests of peace, that a contrary opinion should prevail, I can conceive nothing that would bring more into jeopardy the peaceful relations of this country, than that an idea should prevail among foreign nations that we are so attached to peace that we dare not make war, and that, therefore, any aggression or any injury may be safely ven-

tured against English subjects, because England has such a rooted aversion to war that she will not repel it.

Debate on International Arbitration. June 12, 1849.

Precautions against Foreign attacks.

But I cannot go along with the honourable member in condemning that provident provision of things, which cannot be created at a moment's notice—which would be necessary if we were called on to defend ourselves from foreign aggression—and the chance of which, if known to foreign countries, would form an incitement and temptation to commit wrong against this country. Therefore I think that a Government act wisely and prudently when they gradually, and without overstraining the burden on the country, lay up a store of those things which may be wanted on the first outbreak of a war, if it should unfortunately occur, and which must be provided for beforehand, while they abstain from useless augmentations of men, which can be raised when the emergency arises, and in a short period would be just as effective as if they had been longer in military training.

June 12, 1849.

The Favourers of despotism.

There are persons who see in the relations of countries nothing but the intercourse of cabinets—who value a country not for its political weight, but for its political

opinions—and who consider that the relations between countries are sufficiently intimate when the personal intercourse of their Governments is placed on a complimentary footing. Sir, there are men who, having passed their whole lives in admiring the Government of Austria, because they deemed it the great symbol of the opinions which they entertained, at last became fickle in their attachment, and transferred their allegiance to the Government of France, because they thought that in that Government they saw an almost equal degree of leaning to the arbitrary principle, and, because they, forsooth, suspected that Government of designs hostile to the interests of freedom. We have heard of persons of that sort making use of the expression “old women.” Public men ought not to deal in egotism, and I will not apply to them the expression that has fallen from their own mouths. I will only say that the conduct of such men is an example of antiquated imbecility.

July 21, 1849.

Austria an important element in the balance of power.

But there are higher and larger considerations which ought to render the maintenance of the Austrian empire an object of solicitude to every English statesman. Austria is a most important element in the balance of European power. Austria stands in the centre of Europe, a barrier against encroachments on the one side, and against invasion on the other. The political independence and liberties of Europe are bound up, in my opinion, with the

maintenance and integrity of Austria as a great European power; and therefore anything which tends by direct, or even remote, contingency, to weaken and to cripple Austria, but still more to reduce her from her position of a first-rate power to that of a secondary State, must be a great calamity to Europe, and one which every Englishman ought to deprecate, and to try to prevent.

July 21, 1849.

Austria changed for the worse.

However, it is perfectly true, as has been stated, that for a long course of time Austria has not been a favourite with the liberal party in Europe. Austria, by the course of policy which she has pursued, has, in the opinion of a great part of the continent, been identified with obstruction to progress. That circumstance unfortunately has made her proportionately a favourite in the eyes of some; and when we hear such declarations in favour of Austria, I would warn the Austrian Government not to trust too much to those protestations. It is not as the ancient ally of England during war—it is not as the means of resistance in the centre of Europe to any general disturbance of the balance of power—it is as the former (though I trust it is no longer so)—the former symbol of resistance to improvement, political and social—it is in that capacity that Austria has won the affections of some men in the conduct of public affairs.

Ibid.

*The war in Hungary.—The course marked out for
England in the contest.*

With regard to the present question, I am sure that everybody who has heard what has passed—everybody in this country who has given attention to the most important events that have taken place in Hungary—must feel that my honourable and gallant friend need have made no apology for drawing the attention of the Parliament of England to transactions deeply affecting the political principles of Europe, and having a most important bearing upon the general balance of European power. The House will not expect me to follow those who have spoken to-day by endeavouring to pass judgment either way between the Austrian Government and the Hungarian nation. I say the Hungarian nation, because, in spite of what has fallen from the noble Lord, the member for Tyrone, I do believe, from the information I have received—and I do not pretend I may not be mistaken—but I firmly believe that in this war between Austria and Hungary, there is enlisted on the side of Hungary the hearts and the souls of the whole people of that country. I believe that the other races, distinct from the Magyars, have forgotten the former feuds that existed between them and the Magyar population, and that the greater portion of the people have engaged in what they consider a great national contest. It is true, as my honourable and gallant friend has stated, that Hungary has for centuries been a State which, though united with Austria by the link of the Crown, has nevertheless been separate and distinct from Austria by its own

complete Constitution. That Constitution has many defects ; but some of those defects were, I believe, remedied not long ago, and it is not the only ancient Constitution on the continent that was susceptible of great improvement. There were means, probably, within the force and resources of the Constitution itself to reform it ; and it might have been hoped that these improvements would have been carried into effect. But, so far as I understand the matter, I take the present state of the case to be this : without going into the details of mutual complaints as to circumstances which have taken place within the last year, or year and a half, I take the question that is now to be fought for on the plains of Hungary to be this—whether Hungary shall continue to maintain its separate nationality as a distinct kingdom, and with a Constitution of its own ; or whether it is to be incorporated more or less in the aggregate Constitution that is to be given to the Austrian empire ? It is a most painful sight to see such forces as are now arrayed against Hungary proceeding to a war fraught with such tremendous consequences on a question that it might have been hoped would be settled peacefully. It is of the utmost importance to Europe, that Austria should remain great and powerful ; but it is impossible to disguise from ourselves that, if the war is to be fought out, Austria must thereby be weakened, because, on the one hand, if the Hungarians should be successful, and their success should end in the entire separation of Hungary from Austria, it will be impossible not to see that this will be such a dismemberment of the Austrian empire as will prevent Austria from continuing to occupy the great position she has hitherto held among European

powers ; if, on the other hand, the war being fought out to the uttermost, Hungary should by superior forces be entirely crushed, Austria in that battle will have crushed her own right arm. Every field that is laid waste, is an Austrian resource destroyed—every man that perishes upon the field among the Hungarian ranks, is an Austrian soldier deducted from the defensive forces of the empire. Laying aside those other most obvious considerations that have been touched upon as to the result of a successful war, the success of which is brought about by foreign aid—laying that wholly aside, it is obvious that even the success of Austria, if it is simply a success of force, will inflict a deep wound on the fabric and frame of the Austrian empire. It is therefore much to be desired, not simply on the principle of general humanity, but on the principle of sound European policy, and from the most friendly regard to the Austrian empire itself—it is, I say, devoutly to be wished that this great contest may be brought to a termination by some amicable treaty between the contending parties, which shall on the one hand satisfy the national feelings of the Hungarians, and on the other hand, not leave to Austria another and a larger Poland within her empire. Her Majesty's Government have not in the present state of the matter, thought that any opportunity has as yet presented itself that could enable them with any prospect of advantage to make any official communication of those opinions which they entertain on this subject. I say official, as contra-distinguished from opinions expressed in a more private and confidential manner ; but undoubtedly, if any occasion were to occur that should lead them to think the expression of such opinions would

tend to a favourable result, it would be the duty of the Government not to let such an opportunity pass by. Upon the general question, and in regard to the conduct which it ought generally to be the duty of this Government to pursue in its relation to foreign powers, I have heard with great satisfaction much that has fallen from the honourable gentlemen who have taken a part in this debate. I think the record of the sentiments that have been expressed will be of great utility. It is most desirable that foreign nations should know that, on the one hand, England is sincerely desirous to preserve and maintain peace—that we entertain no feelings of hostility towards any nation in the world—that we wish to be on the most friendly footing with all—that we have a deep interest in the preservation of peace, because we are desirous to carry on with advantage those innocent and peaceful relations of commerce that we know must be injured by the interruption of our friendly relations with other countries; but, on the other hand, it is also essential for the attainment of that object, and even essential for the protection of that commerce to which we attach so much importance, that it should be known and well understood by every nation on the face of the earth, that we are not disposed to submit to wrong, and that the maintenance of peace on our parts is subject to the indispensable condition that all countries shall respect our honour and our dignity, and shall not inflict any injury upon our interests. Sir, I do not think that the preservation of peace is in any degree endangered by the expression of opinion with regard to the transactions in Hungary, or other countries. I agree with those who think—that I know there are many in this country who entertain the

opinion—that there are two objects which England ought peculiarly to aim at. One is to maintain peace ; the other is to count for something in the transactions of the world—that it is not fitting that a country occupying such a proud position as England—that a country having such various and extensive interests, should lock herself up in a simple regard to her own internal affairs, and should be a passive and inert spectator of everything that is going on around. It is quite true that it may be said, “Your opinions are but opinions, and you express them against our opinions, who have at our command large armies to back them—what are opinions against armies?” Sir, my answer is, opinions are stronger than armies. Opinions, if they are founded in truth and justice, will in the end prevail against the bayonets of infantry, the fire of artillery, and the charge of cavalry. Therefore, I say, that armed by opinion, if that opinion is pronounced with truth and justice, we are indeed strong, and in the end likely to make our opinions prevail : and I think that what is happening on the whole surface of the continent of Europe, is a proof that this expression of mine is a truth. Why, for a great many years the Governments of Europe imagined they could keep down opinion by force of arms, and that by obstructing progressive improvement they would prevent that extremity of revolution which was the object of their constant dread. We gave an opinion to the contrary effect, and we have been blamed for it. We have been accused of meddling with matters that did not concern us, and of affronting nations and Governments by giving our opinion as to what was likely to happen ; but the result has proved, that if our opinions had been acted upon, great calamities

would have been avoided. These very Governments that used to say, "The man we hate, the man we have to fear, is the moderate reformer; we care not for your violent radical, who propose such violent extremes that nobody is likely to join with him—the enemy we are most afraid of is the moderate reformer, because he is such a plausible man that it is difficult to persuade people that his counsels would lead to extreme consequences—therefore let us keep off, of all men, the moderate reformer, and let us prevent the first step of improvement, because that improvement might lead to extremities and innovation,"—those Governments, those powers of Europe, have at last learned the truth of the opinions expressed by Mr. Canning, "that those who have checked improvement, because it is innovation, will one day or other be compelled to accept innovation, when it has ceased to be improvement." I say, then, that it is our duty not to remain passive spectators of events that in their immediate consequences affect other countries, but which in their remote and certain consequences are sure to come back with disastrous effect upon us; that, so far as the courtesies of international intercourse may permit us to do, it is our duty, especially when our opinion is asked, as it has been on many occasions on which we have been blamed for giving it, to state our opinions, founded on the experience of this country, an experience that might have been, and ought to have been an example to less fortunate countries. At the same time, I am quite ready to admit that interference ought not to be carried to the extent of endangering our relations with other countries. There are cases like that which is now the subject of our discussion, of one power having in the exercise of its own Sovereign

rights invited the assistance of another power ; and, however we may lament that circumstance, however we may be apprehensive that therefrom consequences of great danger and evil may flow, still we are not entitled to interfere in any manner that will commit this country to embark in these hostilities. All we can justly do is to take advantage of any opportunities that may present themselves in which the counsels of friendship and peace may be offered to the contending parties. We have, on several occasions that have happened of late in Europe, been invited to "intermeddle," as it is called, in the affairs of other countries, although it has been said of this country, that it stands so low in public opinion in Europe, that we are treated with contempt both by Governments and by nations. Certainly, the way in which that want of respect has been shown is singular, when from the north to the south, in cases of difficulty, not only between nations but internally between Governments and their own subjects, we have been asked and invited to interpose our friendly mediation in their affairs. We have on those occasions done our best to accomplish the object which we were called upon to fulfil ; and, in one case at least, we have now nearly succeeded. We have heard a great deal, in the course of the Session, of "sham mediations" in the contest between Denmark and Germany ; but that "sham mediation" has ended in a real preliminary treaty, and I hope that preliminary treaty will soon be followed by a permanent pacification. Sir, to suppose that any Government of England can wish to excite revolutionary movements in any part of the world—to suppose that any Government of England can have any other wish or desire

than to confirm and maintain peace between nations, and tranquillity and harmony between Governments and subjects, shows really a degree of ignorance and folly which I never supposed any public man could have been guilty of, which may do very well for a newspaper article, but which it astonishes me to find is made the subject of a speech in Parliament.

July 21, 1849.

A disclaimer of hostile feeling towards any Foreign nation.

I wish to guard myself in the first place against the possibility that anything which I may say may expose me to the imputation of entertaining unfriendly feelings towards the Government and empire of Austria. I know well, that imputations have been cast upon Her Majesty's Government, and upon myself as the organ of that Government, in regard to our foreign relations—imputations of being guided and impelled in our intercourse with the powers of Europe by personal feelings of hatred to this power and to that. Such imputations, let them come from what quarter they may, and whether they be written or spoken, if they be sincere, or the result of ignorance and folly, are unfounded; if they are insincere, I leave others to qualify them as they may. It is the grossest ignorance to suppose that the Government of this country—that the man who may for the time be charged with the conduct of its foreign relations, can be influenced in the management of those affairs by any other feeling than

his conception of what is his duty, according to his political opinions, and according to his views of the interests of this country, and the general interests of the civilized world. Austria is a power towards which the Government of this country ought upon many accounts to feel great consideration.

July 21, 1849.

Definition of an "ally."

We have been told that Austria is our ancient ally. We have had the term "ally" and "allies" rung in our ears by those who either must be ignorant of the slip-slop expression they were using, or who, through what I must admit to have been its general acceptation, forgot that they were using a totally unmeaning term. Why, what is an ally? An ally is a power allied by treaty engagements in carrying on some active operations, political or otherwise. But to call a country an ally, merely because it is in a state of friendship with you, is to use an expression that has no meaning whatever, because it is applicable to every other power in the world with whom you may happen not to be in a state of war. But Austria has been our ally. We have been allied with Austria in most important European transactions; and the remembrance of the alliance ought undoubtedly to create in the breast of every Englishman, who has a recollection of the history of his country, feelings of respect towards a power with whom we have been in such alliance.

July 21, 1849.

The Treaty of Unkiar Skelersi.

That treaty, as is well known, was no doubt to a certain degree forced upon Turkey by Count Orloff, the Russian envoy, under circumstances which rendered it difficult for Turkey to refuse acceding to it. Mehemet Ali had invaded Syria, and had advanced far into Asia Minor, and threatened Constantinople. The Sultan applied to the British Government for assistance ; but the British Government was not at that time in a condition to render that assistance. We had not a naval force at our disposal sufficient for that purpose. It was known that Russia had offered assistance, and they sent it. The British Government were, however, surprised to find that when the Russian troops quitted the Bosphorus, they carried that treaty away with them—a treaty for eight years, of which the most objectionable portion was, that it gave practically, to the Russian Government a power of interference and dictation in Turkey, not consistent with the independence of that State.

Speech on Mr. Urquhart's motion. March 1, 1850.

*The Reprisals on Greece were against the Government,
not against the nation.*

There is nobody in this House who takes a deeper interest in the prosperity of the kingdom of Greece than I do. It fell to my lot to take part in those proceedings which led to the emancipation of the Greek nation, and to Greece

being made an independent State ; and upon every ground, I can assure the honourable member, it has been exceedingly painful to me to feel it to be my duty to be the organ by which any measure could be adopted that would in any way press upon the Greek nation. But it is not against the Greek nation, but the Greek Government, that we have been obliged to take these steps.

April 8, 1850.

Rights of British subjects abroad.

I say, then, that our doctrine is, that in the first instance, redress should be sought from the law courts of the country ; but that in cases where redress cannot be so had—and those cases are many—to confine a British subject to that remedy only, would be to deprive him of that protection which he is entitled to receive.

June 25, 1850.

His Italian policy.

With regard to our policy with respect to Italy, I utterly deny the charges that have been brought against us, of having been the advocates, supporters, and encouragers of revolution. It has always been the fate of advocates of temperate reform and of constitutional improvement to be run at as the fomenters of revolution. It is the easiest mode of putting them down ; it is the received *formula*. It is the established practice of those who are the advocates

of arbitrary Governments, to say: "Never mind real revolutionists, we know how to deal with them; your dangerous man is the moderate reformer; he is such a plausible man; the only way of getting rid of him is by setting the world at him, and by calling him a revolutionist." Now there are revolutionists of two kinds in this world. In the first place, there are those violent, hot-headed, and unthinking men, who fly to arms, who overthrow established Governments, and who recklessly, without regard to consequences, and without measuring difficulties and comparing strength, deluge their country with blood, and draw down the greatest calamities on their fellow-countrymen. These are the revolutionists of one class. But there are revolutionists of another kind; blind-minded men, who, animated by antiquated prejudices, and daunted by ignorant apprehensions, dam up the current of human improvement, until the irresistible pressure of accumulated discontent breaks down the opposing barriers, and overthrows and levels to the earth those very institutions which a timely application of renovating means would have rendered strong and lasting.

* * * * *

I am justified in denying that the policy which we pursued in Italy was that of exciting revolutions, and then abandoning the victims we had deluded. On the contrary, I maintain that we gave advice calculated to prevent revolutions, by reconciling opposite parties and conflicting views. Ours was a policy of improvement and of peace, and therefore the Government deserves not condemnation, but praise.

June 25, 1850.

England in 1850.—Vindication of his foreign policy.

I do not complain of the conduct of those who have made these matters the means of attack upon her Majesty's Ministers. The Government of a great country like this is undoubtedly an object of fair and legitimate ambition to men of all shades of opinion. It is a noble thing to be allowed to guide the policy, and to influence the destinies of such a country; and if ever it was an object of honourable ambition, more than ever must it be at the moment which I am speaking. For while we have seen, as was stated by the honourable Baronet the member for Ripon (Sir J. Graham), the political earthquake rocking Europe from side to side—while we have seen thrones shattered, shaken, levelled; institutions overthrown and destroyed—while in almost every country the conflict of civil war has deluged the land with blood, from the Atlantic to the Black Sea, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, this country has presented a spectacle honourable to the people of England, and worthy of the admiration of mankind. We have shown that liberty is compatible with order; that individual freedom is reconcileable with obedience to the law. We have shown the example of a nation, in which every class of society accepts with cheerfulness the lot which Providence has assigned to it; while at the same time every individual of each class is constantly striving to raise himself in the social scale—not by injustice and wrong, not by violence and illegality—but by persevering good conduct, and by the ready and energetic exertion of the moral and intellectual faculties with which his Creator has

endowed him. To govern such a people is indeed an object worthy of the ambition of the noblest man who lives in the land; and therefore I find no fault with those who may think any opportunity a fair one for endeavouring to place themselves in so honourable and distinguished a position. Making allowances for those differences of opinion which may fairly and honourably arise among those who concur in general views, I maintain that the principles which can be traced through all our foreign transactions, as the guiding rule and directing spirit of our proceedings, are such as deserve approbation. I therefore fearlessly challenge the verdict which this House, as representing a political, a commercial, a constitutional country, is to give on the question now brought before it; whether the principles on which the foreign policy of her Majesty's Government has been conducted, and the sense of duty which has led us to think ourselves bound to afford protection to our fellow-subjects abroad, are proper and fitting guides for those who are charged with the Government of England; and whether, as the Roman in days of old, held himself free from indignity when he could say: *Civis Romanus sum*; so, also, a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye, and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong.

June 25, 1850.

The French occupation of Rome.

The occupation of Rome by the French troops was a measure undertaken by France upon her own discretion,

and upon her own judgment. The British Government was no party to the measure, France having exercised her own independent rights in regard to it, and it not being at all necessary that the previous concurrence of the British Government should be obtained. The British Government, therefore, was no party to that measure, and, consequently, it is not correct to say that we concurred in it. We might have had our opinions upon the subject; but it was a matter in which we had no right to interfere one way or the other. My honourable friend asks me if it is my opinion that the result of that occupation has been to establish good government in Rome? I am concerned to say, that I cannot answer that question in the affirmative; because it is well known that the state of Rome, and the internal condition of that city, and of the Roman States, is such as must be painful to every well-wisher to the people of that country. With regard to the prolongation of that occupation, there have, undoubtedly, been friendly communications between Her Majesty's Government and that of France. Her Majesty's Government cannot be blind to the consideration that, the French having once occupied Rome, the withdrawal of the French garrison would probably lead to the occupation of the city by other parties; and it does not follow that that would be a change advantageous to the people of Rome, or to those general interests which the British Government must necessarily have at heart, as connected with Italian and European interests. The French Government plead now, as they pleaded then, that they had no intention of a permanent occupation; and they must be left to judge for themselves as to the period at which that occupation may cease consistently

with the objects in view—objects which are disinterested ones, as far as France is concerned, for she never professed to have in view any territorial acquisition by that occupation. The French Government have assured us that, as far as any influence goes which they may be at liberty to exercise in Rome and with the Roman Government by reason of that occupation, that influence has been exerted for those objects which the French Government, as well as the English Government, necessarily think most desirable to be attained.

May 9, 1851.

The tendency of his policy.

I trust, the part it has been my lot to take in administering one department of the affairs of this country, has shown that there has been nothing in my conduct in any degree inconsistent with the opinions I am now professing; for however it may be the fashion with some persons in that easy colloquial jaunty style, in which they discuss public matters, to declaim against modern diplomacy and international intermeddling, yet, at least, I can appeal to facts. I can appeal to the fact that, during the considerable period for which I have been responsible for the conduct of the foreign relations of this country—though events have happened in Europe of the most remarkable kind, and attended with great commotions of public feeling, and great agitation in the social and political system of the continent—although during that period events have happened which have brought the interests of

England, I will not say into conflict, but into opposition, to the interests of other great and powerful nations, yet at least the fact is, that we have been at peace, and that not only has peace been preserved between this country and other nations, but that there has been no international war of magnitude between any of the other great powers of Europe. If, then, on the one hand we are taunted with perpetual interfering and intermeddling in the relations of other countries, at least we ought to have the credit given to us, that that interference and intermeddling has been accompanied by the continuance of peace between those countries with which we have interfered; it is too bad that we should be accused on the one hand of interfering constantly in the transactions of other countries; and at the same time, that we should be denied the credit of those results which accompanied that course of policy.

June 17, 1851.

Facilities for French invasion.

I think the zeal of my honourable friend (Mr. Cobden), who is in the habit of wishing to undervalue the necessity of defensive precautions, has carried him somewhat too far, when he talks of Cherbourg as simply a port of refuge, and of the works of Alderney as an insult and menace towards France. Why, as to Alderney, the whole island would hold about one thousand people, and the harbour, if completed, would afford accommodation for a few steamers.

When you talk of the works at Alderney as aggressive against France, you might as well talk of the aggression of a sentry box against a fortified town. But what is there at Cherbourg? a harbour, it is said. Why, Cherbourg is a great naval arsenal, and in the very report from which my honourable friend read an extract, a report presented last April to the French Assembly, explaining the grounds upon which certain sums were proposed to be voted for works therein mentioned, it is stated, I think, speaking from memory, that the works have been in progress now for nearly fifty years, that the whole amount of expence will be something between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000 sterling; and the ground upon which the works are represented as of value to France, is an advanced post, within some sixty miles of the English coast, incapable of being blockaded, and which would, therefore, afford in every way a most important point of aggression towards England in case of a war.

July 17, 1851.

The Great Exhibition.

I again say, I accept with pleasure the speech and the proposal of the honourable member, provided it is not imposed upon the Government in a way which I think would very much defeat the intentions he has in view. I accept it with pleasure, as the right hand of friendship tendered by this country to our neighbours. I agree with him in thinking that there could not perhaps have been a

more appropriate time than the present for a demonstration of this nature, because we have now converted this country I may say into the temple of peace of the whole world: we have invited the natives of every civilized country on the face of the earth to come here, not to the rivalry of physical strength, or of brute force, or the arts of human destruction, but to come here to compare the progress which each nation has made in those arts which constitute the happiness and ornament of the human race. It is certainly a proud year for this country; and it is no less a source of satisfaction to us to see the confidence which is reposed in this nation by those who come themselves, and who bring their goods to this great and mighty Exhibition. It is also a source of honest pride to us to know that nothing has more struck the foreigners, who have done us the honour of visiting us on this occasion, than that spirit of order which they have observed pervading every rank of society in this country; they have expressed their wonder at the respect for the laws which is the spontaneous feeling of all, from the highest to the lowest, in the land, and which arises, perhaps, from the excellence of those laws. I do not mean to say they are perfect, any more than any other human institution can be, but the comparative excellence of those laws, which secure to every man from the highest to the lowest the full enjoyment of the honest fruits of his industry, and which protect him against oppression from above, and against insult from below.

June 17, 1851.

The present era favourable to the amicable settlement of disputes.

When I assure the House that our endeavours to carry out the views expressed by the honourable gentleman will be continued, I may say that the experience of recent times is highly encouraging to those who wish for the maintenance of peace. The diffusion of constitutional government throughout Europe must tend greatly to the maintenance of general peace. It not only renders it necessary for Governments to persuade Parliament that there is just cause for imposing burdens on the people, but it thereby places Governments on their trial, and prevents them from carrying matters in dispute to such a point, that they cannot recede with honour, even if they become convinced that they are not wholly in the right. There is a growing disposition in Europe to settle quarrels among the nations by amicable intervention and negociation; and we could not have a more striking example of this than what took place last year, when we saw those two mighty military Governments of Austria and Prussia, after calling out their hundreds of thousands of men, and apparently on the point of battle, yet from the influence of good sense and reason on both sides, entering into preliminary negotiations, and devising means to terminate their differences without shedding a single drop of blood. The progress of civilization in Europe is most gratifying to the friends of peace; and I can assure the honourable member for the West Riding, that Her Majesty's Government are as anxious as

he possibly can be, not only to preserve this country from the calamities of war, but to exercise that influence which so powerful a people as that of England naturally possesses, to save on every possible occasion other countries from those calamities.

June 17, 1851.

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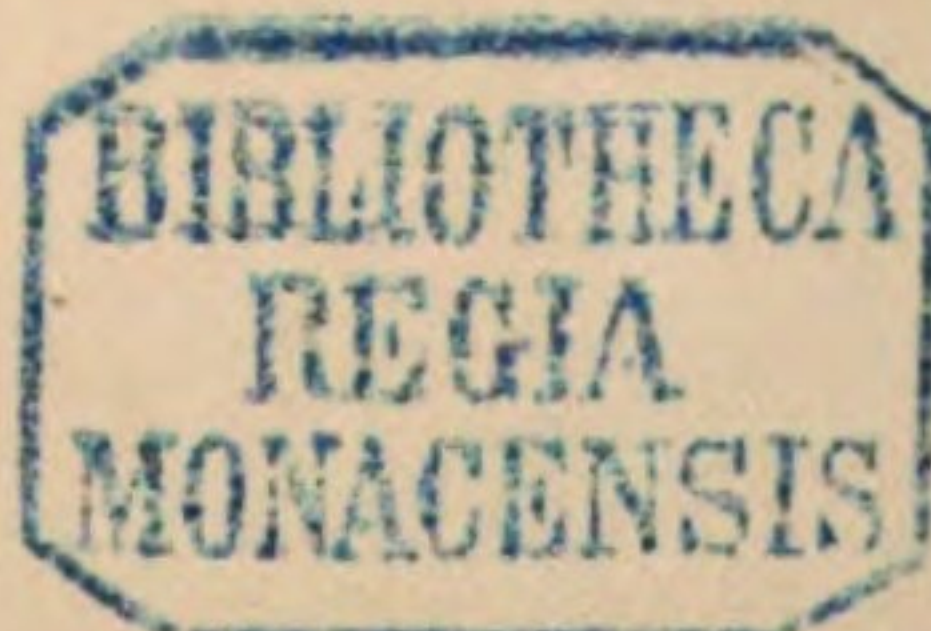
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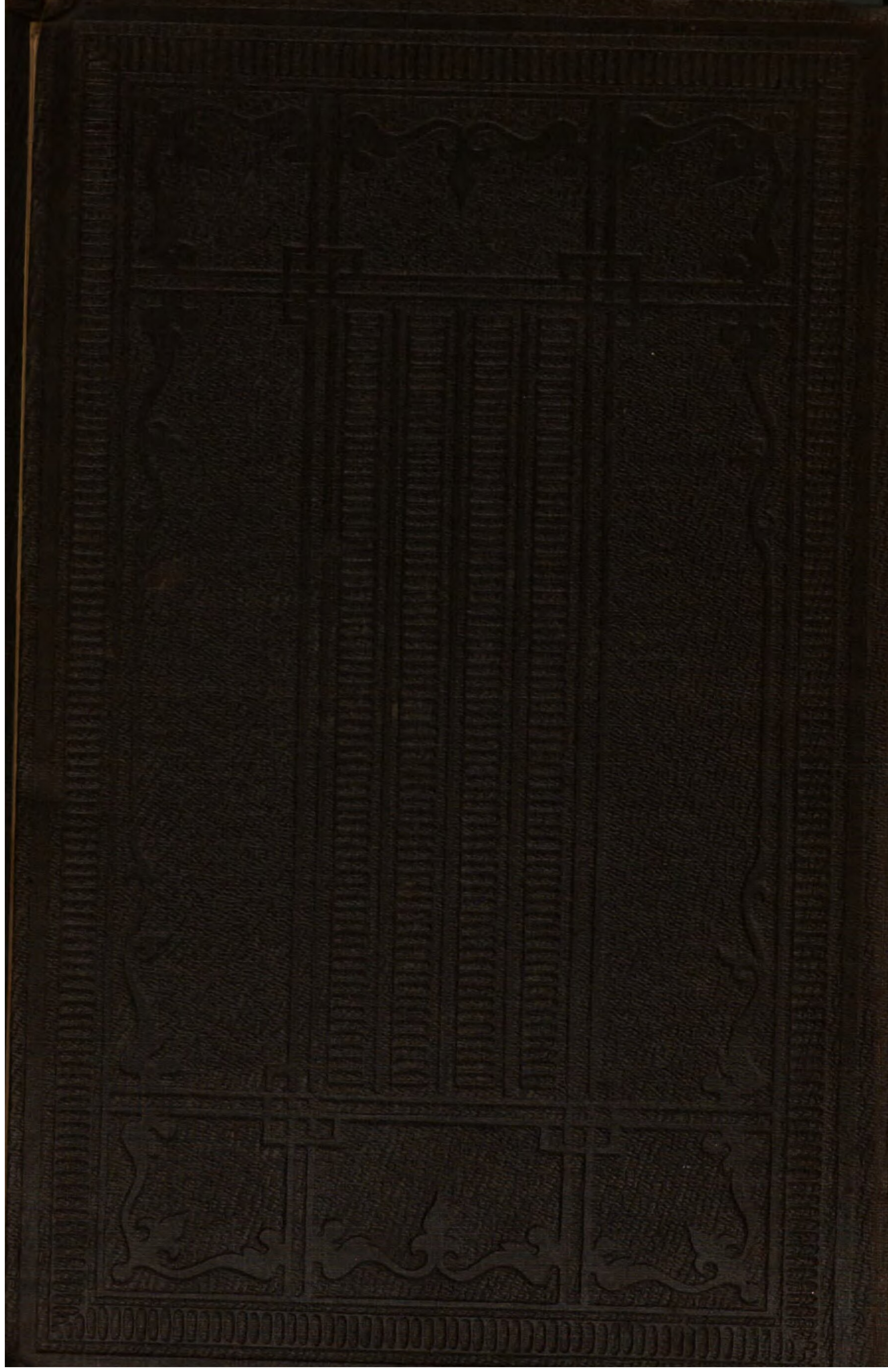






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